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CHURCH HISTORY IN BUCHAN.

Some Chapters of Church History in Buchan:

With Special Reference to the Fortunes of Episcopacy in Peterhead.

BY

The Rev. JOHN WILKINSON,
Rector of the Church of S. Peter, Peterhead.

With a Foreword by The Right Reverend ANTHONY MITCHELL, D.D., Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney.

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To
The Memory
of
The Men Who
Endured.

PREFACE.

These pages have not been written with polemical intent. The writer has no wish to revive the flickering embers of ancient controversy. His object is to mark in a humble way the Centenary of the Church which it is his privilege to serve by telling the story of those old, far-off days when men of all creeds had really to live, often to suffer, and sometimes to die for the faith—at least for the faith as they saw it; and to them the vision was wondrously clear. We call them bigots, and perhaps they were; but, for himself, the writer of these lines is not ashamed to confess that he prefers the blazing, blundering fervour of the bigot to the stupid inertia of the modern indifferentist. This is why he has a kindly corner in his heart for the Scottish Covenanters—the men who stamped with both feet (and such big feet!) on the religion of his fathers; and this, too, is why he is hopeful that among those who differ from him in religious beliefs, there are some who will read with understanding, and therefore with a certain sympathy, this contribution to the annals of Episcopacy in Buchan, and more particularly that portion of it which deals with the sorry happenings that followed the insurrection of 1715, and the romantic rising of 1745.

There is some hitherto unpublished, and (as the writer thinks) not wholly valueless, historical matter in these pages, especially in the chapter headed "A State of War." It may be found perhaps that the extracts from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Deer throw an interesting sidelight on the religious and political complexities which developed—or, rather, became intensified—after the ill-starred adventure of the Earl of Mar.

Any profit from the sale of this book will be devoted to the Centenary Fund of St Peter's Church, Peterhead.

J. W.

Peterhead, *Sept.* 1, 1914.

FOREWORD

BY

The Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney.

HISTORY, we are told, is an excellent tonic for drooping spirits. Nor need we doubt that such is one of its admirable functions. For in reminding us of the toils and the sacrifices of those who have gone before us, it sets a standard for us to aim at, and, if it may be, surpass, in our day and generation. In depicting old and bygone struggles over long-forgotten causes, it furnishes a moral and intellectual background for our modern efforts and contendings on behalf of principle.

Another benefit that history confers is to show how the familiar present is the outcome of the less well-known past. The circumstances—social, political, and ecclesiastical—amongst which we live to-day have their roots imbedded in the soil of all the yesterdays, and cannot be understood without the illumination which history affords.

In this admirable and brightly written volume a real service has been done in this respect. The present position and the principles of Scottish Episcopacy cannot be understood without some knowledge of its varied and romantic history,

and Mr Wilkinson proves himself here a genial and effective instructor. In describing the ups and down of Church life in Peterhead he has a fruitful theme, for if genuine Episcopacy is to be found anywhere in Scotland, it is in the Buchan district of Aberdeenshire. His little book will doubtless interest a far wider circle than that of his immediate congregation, and I have every pleasure in wishing it good speed upon its way.

A. ABERDEEN & ORKNEY.

Bishop's Court,
Aberdeen, Sept. 1, 1914.

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I.—INTRODUCTORY—THE EARLY CHURCH.

A Land of Shadows.

THE history of the early Church in Buchan offers a tempting field for the romanticist or the historical student whose imagination is able to survive the minute scrutiny of ancient chartularies and age-worn deeds. But the man who has somewhat of Mr Gradgrind's thirst for facts will find it an inhospitable country—dim, shadowy, almost unreal, with just here and there a footprint, ill-defined, to guide the jaded traveller on his way. The present writer confesses that he hardly dares to cross the border-line which separates the world of tolerable certainty from that far-off land of shades. Braver men have made the great adventure; and what they tell us he is willing to believe. Yet they tell so little, after all. Probably the tiny hamlet on the Links of Peterhead was first Christianised by the Columban missionaries; possibly our rock-bound shores were traversed by the Saint of Iona himself; conceivably, in his consuming zeal for the Faith, the great Apostle may once upon a time have spoken his message and celebrated the Holy Mysteries on the identical spot now marked by the ruins of a long-deserted shrine. Mr James Aiken, in an address to the Buchan Field Club, pictures him "pacing the Links of Peterhead, wrapt in meditation, and listening to the sound of the 'sad sea waves' he loved so well to hear."

First Church in Peterhead.

But conjecture, however engaging, is poor fare to set on the board of a hungry historian. We can sympathise with Dr Pratt in the sigh which escaped him as he recorded the "supposition" that a church on the Links was dedicated to St. Peter about the middle of the eighth century—that is, about a hundred years before the first page of the Book of Deer was written. If the church or monastery of Deer was built sometime towards the close of the sixth century, it is a justifiable assumption that the Columban evangelists soon flung out their breastworks well to the south of the Ugie, and definitely planted the Christian standard on these shores. Indeed, says one ingenious writer, "it is difficult to believe that even before the first church of stone was built and dedicated to St. Peter, there was not an earlier place of worship, some rude kil of turf and wattles," where the sacred offices were recited, and the Pure Offering was made, with the simplicity and quiet precision which characterised the services of the early Columban Church.

Queen Margaret's Reformation.

The establishment, early in the thirteenth century, of the Cistercian Abbey of Deer, not only marked an epoch in the ecclesiastical history of Buchan, but was symptomatic of the tremendous change which had taken place in the life of the Scottish Church. Columban Christianity had waxed—and waned. "Intestine wars and the ravages of the Northmen," writes Dr Dowden, "had

destroyed all sense of security." It is hardly likely that the little Christian community in Peterhead, within easy striking distance of the roving Norsemen's war-galleys, escaped the harrying attentions of their enemies. Moreover, in the Columban monasteries, spiritual laxity and moral deterioration were doing their deadly work. The early fervour failed; discipline relaxed; the more powerful laity set an evil example to succeeding generations by usurping the property of the Church; and, worst of all, the marriage or concubinage of the clergy became a scandal and rock of offence. Celtic Christianity fell, and on its ruins was reared a stately superstructure—the reformed National Church of Scotland, which vivified and enriched for many generations the communal and religious life of the Kingdom. It was good Queen Margaret (1069-93) who gave the impetus to the wonderful movement which lifted the Scottish Church out of its long isolation, revolutionised its character, purged its morals, and increased its activities a hundredfold. Tribal Episcopacy, with its ever-changing centres of authority, disappeared. In its place evolved the diocese, as the permanent unit of Episcopal jurisdiction. Cathedrals were erected; new monasteries were founded; religious communities became once more the source and centre of a varied life. Their inmates were not only men of prayer; they were also men of action. They cultivated the soil, dispensed charity, tended the sick, taught the young, administered the laws, kept alive the flickering light of literature. It has been truly said that

"they reared a barrier against oppression, and taught the strong to respect the weak," and their monasteries represented "the sphere of mind when all around was material and gross."

The Kirk of Peterhead.

This tide of progress was running high when the Cistercian Abbey of Deer was founded, and the Church in Peterhead placed under its fostering care. It has been suggested that the first stone kirk in Peterhead dates from the early part of the eighth century; and a close examination of the ruins on the Links makes it fairly evident, in the opinion of competent authorities, that we have here the remains of two churches, one of great antiquity, and the other traceable to the fourteenth or early fifteenth century. If this assumption is nearly correct, then the erection of the later and larger fabric was due in all likelihood to the zeal of the monks of Deer. How it fared with it during the long period of Roman supremacy is a point on which little illumination can be shed. We enter a dark tunnel, as it were, with only here and there tiny shafts of light striking athwart the gloom. When we emerge at the other end, we seem to be "wandering between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born." It was the period of Reformation; and in this part of Scotland the Reformation was effected slowly. "No prophet appeared like a modern John the Baptist, and no martyr was burnt in front of the kirk of Deer. All that we can trace is a sullen discontent with the self-

indulgence of the Church, and mutterings now and then that could not much longer be borne." The substitution of new lamps for old was not an act of sudden violence, but a gradual, and, for a time, almost imperceptible change. The last Abbot of Deer, Robert Keith, died in 1551, and was succeeded by his nephew and namesake (the second son of the fourth Earl Marischal), then a lad of fifteen. It is to be feared that young Keith was not learned in the Latin tongue; for the subtle distinction between "Meum" and "Tuum" was lost upon him. It took him some time to find out on which side his bread was buttered. First, he attempted to deprive the Reformed ministers of their legal dues, and was properly snubbed by the General Assembly for his niggardliness; and when it became clear that the old Faith had not even a fighting chance, he applied for and received from James VI. the conversion of the lands and property of the Abbey into "ane temporall lordschip" in his own favour, "to be callit in all tyme cuming the Lordschip of Altrie." This was in 1587, nearly thirty years after the Reformation; and it says something for the strength and tenacity of the ancient Church that such a lengthy period elapsed before her withered fingers could be lifted from her patrimony.

Plundering the Church.

The secularisation of the Church lands had, however, been going on steadily for years, and in 1587 the process was complete. It is a striking testimony to the power of "the lay lord," and another evidence of the "poor, mean, greedy, unprincipled character" of

many of the Scottish nobles. The adjectives are not our own; they are Dr Story's, but we do not quarrel with them. "Their reforming zeal," he adds, speaking of the nobility, "was in most cases the mere stalking horse of their wolfish avarice"; "their desire to rob the Church was one of the most efficient causes of the religious revolution called the Scottish Reformation." Never had the cause of pure religion such mean and contemptible ambassadors. "In no country were the various elements which combined to produce the religious revolution of the sixteenth century of a more complex kind; but certainly in none did the movement as a whole owe less to that class which should have set the example of disinterested patriotism, to say nothing of religious principle." So Dr Story ("Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church," pp. 226, et seq.) Thus the Mediæval Church died, with belted robbers by her bedside. Sentence of death was passed upon her with a shriek. History speaks in softer accents than the angry tongues of that turbulent age. The sins and weaknesses of the Church—many and dreadful as they doubtless were—are not forgotten. But we see them in a right perspective; we judge them with a kindlier understanding. And we remember the other side. There is always the other side. Dr Stephen has expressed it with fine felicity—"The Church which in her better days, amid a sparse population and in a comparatively poor country, elicited the devotion and sacrifice that covered Scotland with stately Cathedrals and abbeys, built churches and chapels in

every parish, and none of them of a mean order, planted schools and hospitals broadcast, founded three of our ancient Universities, endowed most of her foundations with lands and other properties, not always wisely but always generously—the Church which did such splendid service for the religion and education of Scotland in the Middle Ages, can never fail, with all her later faults, to command the veneration of Scottish Churchmen." (History of the Scottish Church," Vol. I., p. 582).

NOTES.

The above article is intended to be merely a general account of the ecclesiastical position anterior to, and immediately after, the Reformation. For such further details as are known, see Mr James Aiken's articles in Buchan Field Club Transactions; Pratt's "Buchan;" ("The Book of Buchan," ed. by Dr Tocher; and "A Book of the Parish of Deir" (Lawson).

THE NAME OF "DEER."—Professor Lawson, in "A Book of the Parish of Deir," derives the name from the Gaelic, or Irish, *dair* or *daire*, an oak; and one naturally concludes, he says, that there were oak forests in the neighbourhood. Tears and oak were not unconnected in the Celtic idea of the House of God. "The earliest Irish words for a Church," writes Dr Skene, "are *duirthech*—the house made of oak, and *deirthech*—the house where tears are shed." St. Columba was thus playing gracefully, as well as wittily, on words when he said (if the legend be true), "Let Dear be its name!"

THE SEE OF ABERDEEN.—The reign of David I. (1124-1153) is remarkable for the establishment of new Sees: Ross, Aberdeen, Caithness, Dunblane, and Brechin were founded at this period. The first authentic writ in the Chartulary of Aberdeen is a bull by Pope Adrian IV., in 1157, confirming to Edward, Bishop of Aberdeen, "the Church of Aberdeen, the Church of St. Machar, with the town of Old Aberdeen, and other lands in which are included the monastery of Cloveth, and the town and monastery of Murthillach." This "Murthillach" is the old name of Mortlach; it was probably the site of a Columban Church. (See Skene's "Celtic Scotland," and Stephen's "Hist. S. C.").

THE CISTERCIANS.—The Cistercians were organised in 1098 in the Diocese of Langres, France, by Robert, Abbott of Molesme. These monks were called *Monachi Albi*, White Monks, to distinguish them from the Benedictines, whose habit was entirely black.

THE LAST PRE-REFORMATION BISHOP.—This was William Gordon of the House of Huntly, who died in Aberdeen in 1577. An inventory of the silver work, vestments, &c., delivered by him to the keeping of the Canons on 7th July, 1559, shows how rich was the Cathedral of Aberdeen in plate and other equipment. These articles included basins, censers, chalices, candlesticks, "paxes" (pyxes), a holy water font, crosses, silver staves, an image of the Virgin Mary, and "a book with the written Evangel," marked with the arms of Bishop Gavin Dunbar. Sixteen ounces of silver work were committed to the charge of Mr James Gordon, parson of Lonmay.

THE CHURCH OF ST. PETER.—Prior to the Reformation the Church of St. Peter in Peterhead doubtless conformed in internal arrangement to churches elsewhere in Scotland. It was a small building, having the choir or chancel screened off, with a massive stone arch, which still stands—a very fine example of the architecture of the period. The choir was probably paved, and the nave unpaved, as was customary in many places. The orientation of the church was not perfect; but there are many examples of imperfect orientation in Aberdeenshire It is a pity that more care is not taken of the ruins of the old shrine. The walls should be picked, and the interior of the chancel cleared of debris—this, *at least*, might be done.

II.—THE POST-REFORMATION CHURCH.

Effects of Disintegration.

The Reformation left large and populous districts denuded of a resident ministry. To link up the old charges in some sort of way, the evil system of holding several benefices in plurality was revived, and continued for many years, greatly to the detriment of Church and people. Kirks were allowed to fall into decay, and became dirty and desolate temples of the Lord: the people were as hungry sheep that looked up and were not fed. "Frater Gilbertus Chisholme," Prior of the Abbey of Deer, and formerly a member of the brotherhood, cast in his lot with the Reformers, and in 1567 became minister of the united charges of Deer, Foverne, Peterhead, and Langley (St. Fergus). In May, 1569, he became parson of Lonmay, and in the following year he was appointed Vicar of Rathen. As a pluralist he excelled; but in 1576 his duties were restricted to Deer and Fetterangus. When minister of Deer, Peterhead, Foveran, and St. Fergus he received the munificent stipend of £40 Scots, or £3 6s 8d sterling, per annum. If, as has been alleged, the pre-Reformation prelates wallowed in riotous living, it was no part of the policy of the Protestant nobles—their hands "dripping with the fat of sacrilege," and their pockets lined with plunder—to let the Reformed preachers wax gross on earthly riches. An uncomplaining asceticism, a sort

of Higher Altruism, was the rôle marked out for the Ministers of the Word. The semi-ecclesiastical persons known as Readers were even more rigorously starved. Some of the dispossessed clergy were appointed to this humble office. Their duty was to keep things going in the absence of a settled pastorate, but on no account were they permitted to exercise the functions of the regular ministry. The Reader at Peterhead in 1567, the year of Chisholm's appointment, was one Archibald Reid, who was passing rich on something less than £2 sterling a year. His functions were doubtless identical with those described about this time by Cowper, of Galloway, in his "Seven Days Conference between a Catholic Christian and a Catholic Roman" (See "Old Church Life in Scotland," by Rev. Anndrew Edgar, pp. 56, 57, 58). In 1604 the Kirk Session of Aberdeen gave directions that during the service on Sunday mornings and week-days the Reader should "repeat at the ending of the prayers the Ten Commendments, as well as the belieff, that by the oft repeating and hearing of them the common people may learn the same perqueir" (by heart). So long as benefices were held in plurality, the Reader was a necessary officer of the Church; but even when the special need had passed —*i.e.*, when pluralism had ceased—he continued to exercise his functions, combining them with those of schoolmaster and Session Clerk. In 1571 Chisholme was succeeded by "Magister Archibald Keith," who assumed the care of Peterhead, Crimond, and Cruden, and latterly seems to have

added St. Fergus to his already extensive jurisdiction. His stipend amounted to £11 13s 4d sterling, with a small addition from the Kirk lands; and his Reader at Peterhead, James Symsoun, was compelled to keep up appearances on the sum of £20 Scots, provided annually for his maintenance.

An Aggrieved Minister's Revenge.

In 1578 Peterhead and Cruden were formed into a separate charge, and Mr Thomas Moresoun took the oversight of the united parishes. He appears to have held office until 1594, when, we are told, Mr Thomas Bisset was "presented to the Vicarage of Peterhead by King James VI.," a statement which is mystifying, since the patronage of Peterhead was vested in the Earl Marischal. Mr Bisset's vicariate came to a sudden, and, it would appear, ignominious end in 1601; when he was either deprived or deposed; and there followed him, three years later, a relative and protegé of the Earl Marischal, in the person of Mr John Keith, who was translated from Dunottar. This gentleman, however, made no protracted stay in Peterhead. Mr Bisset would seem to have been lingering in the neighbourhood; and human nature being what it was, and is, and ever shall be in this world, even a deposed and discredited minister can always enlist sufficient sympathy to make his successor's lot uncomfortable. If this unfortunate cleric had any expectation of being restored to Kirk and Manse on Mr Keith's departure, he was disappointed, for Mr James Martin was immediately presented with the benefice, and entered on his duties without delay. There-

upon the ousted divine resorted to strong measures. He came "with associates to the yeard of Mr James Martyne, minister of Peterhead, delving up and shoveling togedder his hail cornes, herbes, flowers, and making the fashion of sawing the same over again": for which grievous offence the Privy Council on June 4, 1607, ordained him to be "warded in Edinburgh Tolbuith," and "to find cautione that he sould not invade the said Mr James, under pain of 500 merks." Mr Bisset ultimately found the siller; but for a time he had to rest content with such accommodation as the Tolbooth of Edinburgh afforded him.

Restoration of Episcopacy.

Out of John Knox's superintendents there evolved a titular Episcopacy, which passed away in 1610, when Spottiswoode, Lamb, and Hamilton were consecrated in the Chapel of London House, and a regular Episcopacy was restored to Scotland. The new Establishment lasted until 1638: and as Mr Martin died in 1623, he served the Church in Peterhead under two diverse dispensations. What happened to the Kirk on the Links at this juncture we can only conjecture. There would appear to have been a protracted vacancy. In 1636 another Martin — also a "Mr James"—held the benefice, and as he and the Earl Marischal were both stalwart Covenanters, we may fairly assume that his appointment to the benefice was in open defiance of all diocesan authority. One has no difficulty in "placing" Mr Martin. He was one of the 140 ministers who attended the General Assembly of 1638, which not only

drove the Bishops from their Bishoprics, but also proclaimed their deposition from the office of the ministry. Mr Martin was a mighty man of valour, and a weighty expounder of the Word. The position he gained and the influence he exercised, are shown by the fact that he was chosen to be Moderator of the Provincial Assembly which met in Aberdeen in 1640.

The Aberdeen Doctors.

Aberdeen had long been recognised as the stronghold of Episcopacy in the North. The "Aberdeen Doctors," a little band of Episcopal divines, men for the most part of European reputation, occupied the ground, and they represented a cause which Mr Martin hated from the deepest depths of his soul. Yet it was not altogether an ignoble cause, surely, which could command the support of men like the Aberdeen Doctors. While Professor Story, in characteristically stinging terms, declares that through all the years of conflict Prelacy "was the symbol of despotism and wrong," it has been reserved for another Presbyterian writer to present the situation in a fairer light. "While the Episcopal form of Church government was in the ascendant the spirit of tolerance prevailed," writes the Rev. Dr Macmillan of Kelvinhaugh Parish, Glasgow. "It may be that the king acted in a high handed and harsh manner towards some of those who opposed him. Some were warded, while others were banished. But no charge of persecution or tyranny can be laid against the Church itself. . . Certainly no similar period

in the history of the Scottish Church produced abler or more learned divines." It was against the most distinguished representatives of this school —- men like Dr John Forbes, Professor of Divinity in King's College, one of the greatest scholars of his time, and Principal William Leslie, an eminent Orientalist—that the minister of Peterhead pitted himself, and pitted himself successfully, with the help of the secular arm. The Marquis of Montrose marched his forces north, and in the month of April, 1639, enabled the Covenanting ministers to gratify their hearts' desire by seizing the city churches and announcing the deposition of the Scottish Bishops.

The Energetic Mr Martin.

In "Memorialls of the Trubles" we get a conscientious diarist's account of the happenings of that eventful time. Under date, Friday, April 5, we read: "The lairds of Benholme and Auldbar came over out of Newton to Aberdeen, accompanied with soldiers and musketeers. They first heard devotion: Mr James Martyne, minister at Peterhead being with them, preached in the Oldtoun kirk, upon the last verse of the 28th Psalm. He laboured to condemn Episcopacy, and to persuade the people convenit to subscribe the Covenant. Sermon ended, the said barons, the said minister, with some others, went to the Consistory House, where the Oldtoun people also flocked; and albeit the most part of them had subscribed the King's Covenant before, yet for plain fear of trouble and plundering of their goods,

being kingless, helpless, friendless, and monyless, they subscribed over again this their covenant. Their two barons, with the ministers, subscribed the same first." There are numerous entries of a similar kind, and, reading them, and other annals of that sorry time, one instinctively recalls Swift's biting epigram—"We have enough religion to make us hate, and not enough to make us love, each other." Mr Martyne and his brethren having for many years been "sair hauden doon," had now the upper hand, and toleration was no part of their creed. Samuel Rutherford, whom posterity regards as one of the holiest of men, wrote a quarto volume of four hundred pages "against pretended liberty of conscience," and in Edward's "Gangrena" toleration is characterised as "the grand design of the devil—his masterpiece, and chief engine he works by at this time, to uphold his tottering kingdom."

Nathaniel Martin, Protester.

Mr Martin died in 1649. Resolute and hot-headed as he was, he appears mild, tolerant, and benign when compared with his successor—another Martin, a Nathaniel also, and one in whom there was no guile. He was open as the day. This gentleman was what a modern politician would call a "whole hogger." He scorned the meek and tepid Resolutioners, and, along with Andrew Cant of Pitsligo, identified himself with the extremest faction of a Cromwellianised Presbyteranism—the "Protesters." Between these two parties Church and State were torn and

tattered in a hundred places. It is said that the Protesters were the popular favourites from their ecstatic style of preaching and praying. Baillie says the style amazed him "as a strange kind of sighing, the like whereof I had never heard, as a pythonising out of the belly of a second person." Here we see the English Puritan influence — or that phase of it which Butler so bitingly satirised — at work; and in 1651 Mr Nathaniel Martin, minister of Peterhead, succumbed to its charms, along with all, or nearly all, his brethern in the Presbytery of Deer. The Keith influence counted for nothing about this juncture. William, the seventh Earl, for long "the recognised head of the Covenanting party in the North," had thrown in his lot with Charles II., and, after the Royal rout at Worcester, was taken prisoner, and cast into the Tower of London. There he languished until the fall of Puritanism in 1660, when the King came into his own again. A year later Episcopacy was re-established in Scotland, and in 1662 Mr Nathaniel Martin, Protester, got his *congé*. He was deposed, and retired to Turriff, taking with him the Buik of the Presbytery of Deer, and also the Kirk Session records of Peterhead. The Synod of 1665 gave orders that he should be pursued before the Commissary of Aberdeen for this double act of impropriation; but as a Presbytery Minute Book, ceasing on April 3, 1660, is now in the hands of the Clerk of the Presbytery of Deer, Mr Martin would seem to have been too clever for both Synod and Commissary. It is recorded that he died "sometime between 1671 and 1676."

NOTES.

THE ABERDEEN SYNOD.—One of the points insisted upon at the first Synod in Aberdeen after the restoration of Episcopacy was that Readers of the Scripture on the Lord's Day should not pronounce the blessing over the people; but on week days they had authority to do so. "Worthy men" (elders really) were approved to have an inspection and oversight of the people, and "observe their ways of walking."

THE MANSE OF PETERHEAD. — The first post-Reformation parsonage was erected in Peterhead in 1587. Was it this building which was destroyed by fire in 1740? Dr Moir, writing in 1795, showed himself gravely dissatisfied with the new manse. "The whole of the house is very insufficient," he said. Soon afterwards it was taken down, and the present commodious building erected in its stead.

PATRICK FORBES OF CORSE.—The most distinguished Aberdeen prelate of the Reformed Episcopacy was Patrick Forbes of Corse, who did not enter Holy Orders until he was 48 years of age. He was appointed to the See of Aberdeen in 1618, and on his death in 1635, aged 71, he was buried in his Cathedral. The magistrates of the city ordered the "tounes haill tuelff peice of ordinance to be shot" in "testimonie of thair affectioun and deservit respect to him."

III. THE RESTORED EPISCOPACY.

Messrs Chalmers and Banks.

The first minister of the last Episcopal Establishment was Mr James Chalmers, A.M., translated from Arbuthnot in 1664. We know little about him, except that in 1666 the Diocesan Synod was compelled to take notice of a dreadful scandal within the parish—"a vyle act" of immorality and "murther" — and that the minister was ordered by the "Lord bishop and wholl brethren of the assembile" to hold a solemn fast of humiliation for the same. Mr Chalmers died in 1678, about four years after his resignation of the charge. In 1674 Mr Alexander Banks, A.M., a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, whom the Bishop of Edinburgh had licensed in 1666, was admitted to the incumbency, and held it peacefully for several years. Mr Banks was not exactly wedded to his pulpit, if one may judge by his frequent absences from the parish. On one Sunday the preacher was Mr William Hay, minister of Crimond; on another, there was no sermon, "the minister being expected but not coming." In 1677 the preachers included the neighbouring clergy, the parish schoolmaster, and sundry students of divinity. Occasionally we read that there was no "sermon," by reason of the tempestuousness or coldness of the weather. There were usually two sermons every Sunday, forenoon and afternoon, and the texts are always carefully recorded. At the close

of the afternoon service the Session met regularly every week to dispose of "necessar business"—invariably sordid cases of discipline. The Minutes of each meeting begin with the unalterable formula, "After the invocation of the Name of God"; and the Session Clerk faithfully records each year that thanksgiving services were held for the Nativity and Restoration of King Charles II.

Settlement of the Rev. Alex. Barclay.

In 1681 Mr Banks severed his connection with the parish. On September 10, in that year, he preached his farewell sermon, "having gotten a call from the Church of Peterhead to the Church of Dalmonney." And now we come into contact with a gentleman whose fate it was to suffer many of the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune — the Rev. Alexander Barclay. There was no protracted vacancy; for the Lord Marischal, "undoubted patron" of the parish, made immediate presentation of the living to Mr Barclay, "late parson of Auchterles." The Sunday after Mr Banks' departure, as we learn from the Kirk Session Minutes, "an edict direct from the Bishop of Aberdeen was read before the congregation, immediately after the sermon"; a week later Mr Barclay preached; and on the following Thursday the "late parson of Auchterles" was "admitted minister of Peterhead." Ceremony there was none: nor need we be surprised at its absence, for the Episcopacy of the Restoration was, in the externals of worship, almost indistinguishable from Pres-

byterianism. At the first Synod in Aberdeen after the re-establishment of the Episcopal Church, a laudable effort was made to have things done decently and in order; but it was no easy task, and the Bishop (David Mitchell) did not live to wean the churches in his Diocese from the uncouth manners into which they had fallen. Under the Commonwealth the kirks in many places had become mere preaching stations, wherein the drum ecclesiastic was vigorously beaten, and fiery-tongued exponents of the Gospel of the Lord of Love hurled anathemas at the heads of Papists, Prelatists, and Presbyterian "malignants." The idea of the Church as a House of Prayer where the Father meets His children, and blesses them with His peace, if not wholly lost, had been widely forgotten.

Recommendations of Synod.

The Aberdeen Synod, aiming at better ways, enacted that there should be Readers of the Scriptures in every congregation in the Diocese. They were directed to begin the service with a set form of prayer, especially on the Lord's Day. Thereafter they were to read "some Psalms, with some chapters of the Old Testament." Then they were to "rehearse the Apostolical Creed publickly," and, in rehearsing it, to stand; next to read some chapters of the New Testament Scriptures; last of all to repeat the Ten Commandments; and "in case there be not a Reader, the minister shall read himself." Morning and Evening Prayer was to be said regularly in certain churches, including the Kirk of Peterhead, and it was

directed that the "liturgie in the old Psalme Book be used and practised." It was further ordained that people were to pray either standing or kneeling, and that at the singing of the doxology they should stand, not sit. On the whole, it was a modest measure of reform, and compared feebly with John Knox's Book of Common Order, which the Puritanism of the Commonwealth had frowned out of existence.

The Position in Peterhead.

But neither in Aberdeenshire nor elsewhere in Scotland was any appreciable improvement effected for long years after the Restoration. Keith in his "Scottish Bishops" (pp. 492-493) tells us that the two Sacraments were administered by both (Presbyterians and Episcopalians) nearly in the same manner. In Baptism the Episcopal clergy required the Apostles' Creed, and the Presbyterians, in general, the Westminster Confession; though some of the more rigid Presbyterians insisted that the Solemn League and Covenant should be the model of the child's religious education. In Peterhead under Episcopacy "the Supper of the Lord" was celebrated, summer and winter, on two Sundays in succession — sometimes oftener—preceded by a fast, and followed by a thanksgiving; and "the elders," as we read again and again in the Minute Book of the Session, "were appointed to assist the minister." Assist him in what way? Did they help to "dispense the elements," as is done in Presbyterian churches to-day? On

May 23, 1674, the entry is: "Elders appointed to assist ye Tables." On May 10, 1686, a Communion Sunday, it was written: "The collections at stiles and the tables are contained in the roll of collections." In the statement of accounts there are other entries of a similar kind. There seems reason to assume that the pre-Revolution method of administering the Sacrament lingered in the Episcopal Establishment. The manner of appointment to the eldership is shown in the following extract from the Minute of September 23, 1683:—"After the invocation of God's Name, in presence of the minister and elders, the said day, these after-mentioned persons were elected elders—James Gordon in Downiehills, Gilbert Boggy in Invernetty, and gave their oaths *de fideli administratione*; and the number of elders was resolved upon to be any number as the minister and members of the Session in after time should think expedient."

A Kirk Plain and Unadorned.

It was the duty of the elders to seek out those who were at variance with each other, and admonish them, so that they would be fit to partake of the Holy Supper, and intimation was made that "intrants" must be furnished with certificates from their last parish before they could be admitted to the Sacrament. Marriages were celebrated in the Church, and it would appear that public baptism was administered from the pulpit, as is still the case (or was the case until recently)in various parts of Scotland. There was no attempt at ecclesiastical adornment,

as we understand it to-day. The Kirk of St. Peter was simplicity itself. It had one aisle, with windows in each the north and south walls, and one in the west "gavell," where also was the "common loft." The only furniture we can find any reference to, apart from the desks of the worshippers (concerning which there were frequent disputes, and sometimes unseemly brawlings in Church), are the latrone or lectern, the pulpit, and, near to the latter, "a seat with a lifting board whereon parents stand when they present their children to baptism." No attempt seems to have been made to observe the fasts and festivals of the Christian Year, except that "the Nativity of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" was commemorated by a sermon preached on Christmas Day.

The Eldership.

In regard to discipline the Established Churchmen of that day had kirk sessions just as the Presbyterians have at present: they had their Presbyteries, too, where some experienced minister of the Bishop's nomination acted as Moderator: they had their Diocesan Synods, in which the Bishop himself, or one of his express appointment, presided: and they might, on the same principle, have had their National Synods or General Assemblies had the King found it expedient to summon, or to permit, their convocation. (See Keith). There was nothing, and there is nothing, in any of these things necessarily contrary to the genius of Scottish Episcopacy. As a matter of fact, the clergy of the Diocese of Aberdeen met for several

years in "Presbytery" until the restoration of the Diocesan Synod by Bishop John Skinner in 1787. In Peterhead the power of the elders was considerable. They were a terror to evil doers, and the praise, let us hope, of them that did well. But their authority was overshadowed by the forceful personality and powerful territorial influence of the Earl Marischal, who issued edicts, decrees, and commands with an almost regal air; and when the elders and ministers did venture on representations of any kind, it was with bated breath and whispering humbleness. His "Most Noble" Lordship had his seat close to the latrone, and it was so situated that when he came to church—which was not often, for he had a chaplain of his own—he could receive the homage of the assembling worshippers, and keep a watchful eye upon them during service.

Echoes from Afar.

The Minutes of Session take little notice of current happenings either in Church or State. They are for the most part a grim narrative of the elders' dealings with a sinful and backsliding people. But occasionally one finds a passing allusion to the events of the outside world. On September 9, 1683, for example, a thanksgiving was held for the King's delivery from the "phanatical conspiracy which was laid against him" —i.e., the Rye House plot. On May 4, 1684, it was intimated that the following Wednesday would be observed as "a day of solemn fasting and humiliation for the general profanation of the Gospel by phanatical dis-

senters from ordinances, also for the sins of the land, that by speedy repentance all imminent and impendent judgments might be prevented: which," it is added, "was done by an Act of Council read out of the pulpit by the minister himself." The Privy Council was proving itself the supreme foe of Episcopacy, which never stood in greater need of deliverance from its friends. The Council's tactless handling of affairs set the heather on fire in Galloway, and hastened the impending crash. The Cameronians breathed defiance in an "Apologetical Declaration" which marked out for punishment, "according to our power and the degree of their offences," such persons as "bloody militia men, malicious troopers, soldiers and dragoons; likewise such gentlemen and commons as viperous and malicious bishops and curates." The Council's answer to this fulminaton was that all who owned the Declaration, or refused to disown it, should be put to death, whether in arms or not.

A National Thanksgiving.

When Charles died at Whitehall on February 6, 1685, the Lowlands of Scotland was seething with the spirit of revolt, which only the iron hand of the "Privie Council" prevented from leaping into general insurrection. Monmouth and Argyll, in the early days of James VII's reign, tried to organise and lead the somewhat inchoate forces of hostility; and their failure is recorded in the following entry in the Minute Book of the Kirk Session of Peterhead, under date March

29, 1685: — "The said day was read from pulpit by the minster the Act of Counsell for a day of Thanksgiving for our King's and the Kingdom's deliverance from the late rebellione of the rebells, the King's enemies, both in England and Scotland, namely, James, Duke of Monmouth, and Archibald Campbell, late of Argile, they being totally defeated, and themselves brought to capitall punishment for treason." The minister preached from Psalm XVIII., verse 37 et seq. —"I have pursued mine enemies and overtaken them: neither did I turn again till they were consumed . . . they cried but there was none to save them: even unto the Lord, but he answered them not." This was one of the few occasions on which Mr Barclay went to the Old Testament for his inspiration; invariably he selected his texts from the Gospels. Nothing evidences more markedly the difference in spirit between the Old Dispensation and the New, than the instinctive turning of warlike ecclesiastics of every kind to the Hebrew Scriptures for divine authority to persecute their enemies according to the Will of God.

Downfall of the Episcopal Establishment.

However the rest of Scotland was convulsed by the great movements of the time, the good folk in this corner of the Kingdom pursued, almost without emotion, the even tenor of their ways. Episcopacy, as the established religion of Scotland, was repudiated by the Estates in the closing days of 1688; but for years the Church life of Peterhead was unaffected by the change.

The old order had behind it the powerful influence of the Keiths, and the great mass of the people were well content. The Kirk Session was obviously unmoved. The "minister and elders" met as before, receiving accounts, rebuking transgressors, ministering to the necessities of the poor. The first note of change was sounded on May 19, 1689, when the Clerk inscribed the following note in the records of the Session: "It's found the last Lord's day yr was read ane proclamatione for praying for K. William and Q. Mary; and also was read the Act of Convention of States for observing Thursday last as a day of thanksgiving for our deliverance from poperie and slaverie." It was probably no mere coincidence which led to Mr Barclay's absence at Cruden, "giving the Sacrament of the Supper" on the day the Proclamation and Act of Convention were read; he had a happy knack of finding urgent engagements elsewhere when it was uncomfortable to remain at home. A few months later we find another example of apparently innocent evasion. A Minute of August 17, reads:—"It is found that on August 10, the last Lord's day, was read a proclamation for a publick thanksgiving to be observed Tuesday next for our settlement in Kirk and State, and for the King's victorie in Ireland. Mr John Finnie, preacher, having undertaken to preach on the said day of thanksgiving (in the minister's absence, he having gone up the country about necassar affairss.) But he preached not, having met with some impediment"

Episcopacy in Aberdeenshire.

At the disestablishment of Episcopacy there were about nine hundred clergy, with fourteen Bishops, in the National Church. Many of these—one Presbyterian authority fixes the figure at 180—applied for admission to the reconstituted Establishment; many more were immediately expelled from their livings; while others retained kirks, manses, glebes, and stipends for years — until long after the futile rising of 1715-16. This was specially the case in Aberdeenshire, where Episcopacy and Jacobitism were distinctly in the ascendant. When the Commisioners of Assembly visited Aberdeen in 1691, they were so roughly handled by the people that they were compelled to beat a precipitate retreat. The Episcopal clergy at Longside, Deer, St. Fergus, and Cruden, held their livings in some cases for nearly thirty years after disestablishment, and with the exception of those known as "intrduers"—clergy who had taken possession of Parish Churches after the Revolution—might have retained their benefices until their death but for the rising of 1715. So long as they remained quiescent, and went quietly about their parochial duties, the new Establishment was powerless to harm them, for great were the trust and affection of their people. But immediately they stepped into the open as friends of the Stuarts they placed in the hands of a watchful rival the one weapon which could be used with deadly effect against them. How that was done we shall see later.

The Minister of Peterhead.

It has been generally supposed hitherto that Mr Barclay at Peterhead held his living until 1716. This is a mistake. The Session records end abruptly on April 25, 1695, and there is a blank of many years before the next Minute begins. The records of the Presbytery of Deer are equally void until 1701, when we find the Rev. Andrew Guthrie more or less comfortably ensconced as minister of Peterhead. There is, however, an understandable reason for the sudden stoppage of the Session records in 1695. Mr Barclay had become an avowed non-jurant—that is, he had refused to qualify by swearing allegiance to the new succession; and in the year 1695 he was proceeded against, and deprived of his benefice. It was also charged against him that he had "protested against the Assembly's Committee for the North"; and this was an act of treason against the Kirk, so that the minister of Peterhead had run full tilt against both Church and State. The Committee of Assembly visited Aberdeen in 1694 to enforce upon the Episcopal clergy the so-called Oath of Assurance—a solemn asseveration in the sight of God, that William was not only *de facto* but also *de jure* King. Mr Barclay was one of the Aberdeenshire clergy who, with the representatives of other dioceses, met in King's College Chapel, and appointed a committee of their number, including the redoubtable James Gordon, parson of Banchory Devenick, to meet the Assembly's Commission, "challenging the right of fifty or sixty Presbyterian ministers to speak in the name of the Church of Scot-

land," and protesting against the recent Assemblies, "which they refused to recognise as in any sense representative of the National Church." Dr Cunningham, an eminent Presbyterian, in his "History of the Church of Scotland," writes that when the Assembly of 1692 was held, "notwithstanding all the ejections which had taken place, the Episcopalians still formed a majority in the Church," and it was well-known that "if they were admitted to a vote in the Church's judicature they might frame and fashion matters as they pleased." With Parson Gordon's challenge and protest, Mr Barclay identified himself (he was in fact a member of the Episcopal delegation), and he suffered for his sins by deprivation. Scott's "Fasti" states that he afterwards took the Oaths of Allegiance and Assurance; but it is doubtful if he was allowed much longer to exercise his ministry in Peterhead, and the next glimpse we get of him is in 1704, when he is reported as an "intruder" in his old parish of Auchterless. Then we part company for several years, and when we meet him again in 1708, it is on the plainstanes of Peterhead; and he has become that most abject of mortals, the very scorn of Presbyteries and the bane of their existence —the "keeper of an Episcopal meeting house."

IV. A STATE OF WAR.

The Divided Church.

We have no means of knowing how many of Mr Barclay's flock followed their pastor into the wilderness. Documentary evidence bearing on the point has vanished. It is said that the bulk of the congregation went out with him, and this is not unlikely; for Peterhead was Jacobite to the core, and for many years after 1690 the people in almost every part of Buchan remained faithful to the clergy of the Restoration. At anyrate, it is beyond question that among those who formed the nucleus of the Disestablished Church in Peterhead were some of the most influential members of the old Kirk on the Links. Arbuthnot, Volum, Souter, Mitchell, Gordon, Hay, these and other names that once graced the roll of the old Establishment appear in such fragmentary records of the Episcopal "Meeting-house" as have survived the changes and chances of the years. The severance was complete. "In former ecclesiastical revolutions," says Dean Archibald, "the disestablished parties continued generally to attend the parish churches." In this crisis no such accommodation was found possible. There was an absolute break. Episcopacy was thrust out, stripped of all worldly possessions: kirks, manses, glebes, endowments, everything. But even as a multitude of riches cannot make a church, so the loss of riches cannot unmake it. The Disestablished Church staggered under the blow, but it did not die:

it lived: and to-day there are many of its children who trace the hand of a benign and loving Providence in what appeared at the time to be an overwhelming catastrophe.

The Book of Common Prayer.

Mr Barclay seems to have been both owner and occupant of the building now known as 3 Port Henry Lane, then a large dwelling-house, erected probably by the fifth Earl Marischal, and bearing the date 1600, with the text in antique letters: "He hath showed thee, O Man, what is good: and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Here Mr Barclay, with the occasional help of his brother (?) the Rev. John Barclay of Aberdeen and of Mr Hepburn, St. Fergus, ministered to his people, and here also the Book of Common Prayer was first used in Peterhead. The time seemed opportune for this enrichment of the Church's worship. King William was dead (1702) and Queen Anne, (1702-1714) was a Stuart; and the Royal lady did not hide her sympathy with the dispossessed Scottish clergy. But the General Assembly was alert to every movement. In 1707 it passed an Act "Against Innovations in the Worship of God," wherein the Commission of Assembly was instructed and enjoyned "to use all proper means, by applying to the Government or otherwise, for suppressing and removing all such innovations, and preventing the evils and dangers that may ensue thereupon to this Church." The Act was directed againt the liturgy, and, looked at in

the light of history, it put the Assembly hopelessly in the wrong. It was a gratuitous interference with liberty of conscience, which the Assembly claimed for itself as an inalienable right, and it made the Episcopal clergy more resolute than ever to worship God in their own way, with whatsoever forms and prayers they deemed reverent and right.

At this crisis in our ecclesiastical history the dominant issue was religious, rather than political. The Presbyterian judicatories were frankly — and from their own standpoint, no doubt justifiably — anti-Episcopal. Their aim was a United Scottish Church, and they viewed with alarm the new line of demarcation laid down by the Episcopal clergy when they moulded their services on the Book of Common Prayer. The unifying influence of liturgical worship is well known to every student, and it was this influence more than anything else which welded together the adherents of Northern Episcopacy in such a formidable bond of unity that not even the combined forces of Kirk and State were able effectually to destroy it.

Presbytery and "Disorderly Preachers."

It is needless to recount all the movements in the long-drawn-out game of ecclesiastical shuttlecock and battledore. Dean Archibald, in "A Ten Years' Conflict," and the Rev. J. B. Davidson, in his analysis of the Deer Prebytery Minutes have, from different standpoints, carefully covered the ground for the first ten years of the eighteenth century. The following extract

from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Deer, dated May 12, 1708, serves as a very fair summary of the situation. It gives an account of the "disorderly preachers" within their bounds at the time — all Episcopal preachers being, of course, scandalous and disorderly persons!—

"That Mr Alex. Hepburn is an intruder at "St. Fergus since the Revolution, is "unqualified, prayeth not for the queen, "and is a contemner of publick fasts and "thanksgivings. Next that Mr Alex. Moore "and Mr Alexr. Craig are intruders at "Fraserburgh, having got close to the forme "of words in that book, yet when they come "to the paragraph in prayer wherein the "queen's majestie is mentioned they do pass "is by, praying for 'our dread sovereign.' "They are not qualified, are supposed to be "of erroneous principils, do admit scandal-"ous persons to the sealing ordinances, do "hugg and countenance excommunicate "persons. That Mr Barclay at Peterhead "has intruded in a meeting houss, and got "up the English service, and is unqualified. "Mr Robertson at Longside, Mr Keith at "Deer, and Mr Swan at Pitsligo do employ "the forsd. unqualified men to preach in "their pulpits." [An "unqualified" cleric was one who had not taken the Oath of Allegiance; an "intruder" was a minister who had taken possession of a parish after the Revolution, without consent of the Presbytery.]

The Buchan Churches after 1715.

It should be understood that we are deal-

ing simply with certain of the churches in the Presbytery of Deer, and with the Episcopal ministers within the bounds. The reader will the better understand what follows if we give a brief outline of the position as it affected the churches and clergy up to the time our narrative opens in January, 1716.

PETERHEAD. — Rev. Andrew Guthrie was called by the Presbytery in 1698, and admitted the following year. It would appear that Mr Barclay kept possession of the kirk until 1699. Thereafter he and the Rev. John Barclay set up a meeting-house, and conducted service according to the Book of Common Prayer.

ST. FERGUS.—The Rev. William Dalgarno, (Episcopal) died in 1696; and the Rev. Alex. Hepburn (also Episcopal), with the approval and support of heritors and people, took charge of parish, church, and manse. The Presbytery disapproved; but when our narrative opens, he is still the man in possession.

FRASERBURGH. — The minister of Fraserburgh at the Revolution was the Rev. James Moore. He gave no trouble, and held the charge until his death in 1703. Mr Moore had been translated from Rathen in 1667, and when he died was in the forty-fourth year of his ministry. His son Alexander took possession of the church, and held it for a number of years, with the assistance of the Rev. Alexander Craig, who hailed from Shetland. Mr Moore and Mr Craig set up a meeting-house soon after their exclusion from

the kirk; but the former did not long survive his defeat. He died in 1717. Bishop Keith said of him, "He was the best of men I ever saw."

DEER.—The Rev. George Keith, the pre-Revolution incumbent of Deer, died on July 14, 1710. When the Presbytery attempted to fill the vacancy, the famous rabble took place (March 23, 1711.) The "intruding" Episcopal divine was the Rev. William Livingstone. On his expulsion from the Parish Church, he opened a meeting house, most of the people following him. [Mr Keith's son Alexander became schoolmaster at Cruden, and subsequently ministered to Bishop Dunbar's old flock. The "View of the Diocese of Aberdeen" (Spalding) is, with good reason, ascribed to him.]

LONGSIDE.—The Rev. Alexander Robertson was admitted to the cure in 1687. He was the son of the Rev. Thomas Robertson, also minister of Longside, and after serving as chaplain to the Laird of Pitsligo was appointed colleague and successor to his father. The Robertsons were proprietors of Downiehills. Having taken the Oath of Allegiance, Mr Robertson was permitted to retain his living after the Revolution, and had no trouble with the Presbytery until the Jacobite rising of 1715-16, when he became an avowed partizan of James.

PITSLIGO.—The Rev. William Swan, sen., son of Mr Alex. Swan, A.M., also minister of Pitsligo, was admitted prior to 1698, and deposed by Deer Presbytery on July 3, 1716, for complying with the rebellion. He and his

brethren argued that in "deposing" Episcopal clergy from their ministry, the Presbytery were assuming an authority they did not possess. The men, they said, who were subjected to this indignity had received their orders at the hands of their Fathers in God, the Bishops of the Church, and no Presbyterian judicatory, least of all the handful of men who constituted the Deer Presbytery, could recall what it never gave. But the times were "very evil," and passions ran high, and the spirit of the age was Erastian.

The Coming of "The King."

The death of good Queen Anne in 1714, was the signal for which the Scottish Royalists had been patiently biding their time. The standard of revolt was raised on the Braes o' Mar; and on December 22, "Mr James Misfortune" — scornfully nicknamed "the Pretender" by his enemies, loyally hailed as "King James VIII" by his friends—landed at Peterhead. It was a quiet and somewhat inglorious advent. There was no beating of drums, no firing of guns, no huzzahing of jubiliant multitudes. The claimant to a throne arrived late at night, "in a very small fishery barck, with only two servants"; and a clever young lady who contrived to catch a glimpse of him in his lodging in the Longate "saw the rightful heir of Britain's throne standing with his cocked hat pulled over his eyes in deep despondency before the fire." A leading Jacobite and Episcopalian of the day, Baron Baillie Thomas Arbuthnot, factor to the Earl Marischal, had proclaimed His Royal Highness King at the old Mercat Cross of

Peterhead, on September 23; and we can imagine the joy with which he welcomed his Prince when the Royal exile set foot once more on Scottish soil (*Anglice*, mud) at Port Henry Haven.

Thus the fat was in the fire, and a pretty blaze it made. Baillie Arbuthnot girded on his sword and set out to he wars; and in he stormy days that followed, Messrs Barclay and Hepburn seized the church of Peterhead, conducted the services, and prayed for "the Pretender" under the name and title of King James VIII. The same thing happened elsewhere; and even some of the qualified clergy —Mr Robertson, at Longside, and Mr Swan, at Pitsligo—definitely threw in their lot with the Stuarts by praying publicly for "King James." It was a testing period, and neither side had any use for waverers. The poet's lines would have shocked both parties:—

"God bless the King, God bless the faith's defender,
God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender;
But who Pretender is, and who is King,
God bless us all, that's quite another thing."

We follow developments with the help of the Presbytery Minutes; and here the writer would express his thanks to the Rev. Dr Davidson, Clerk to the Presbytery of Deer, for the much prized privelege of searching through the records in his possession.

A Decimated Presbytery.

RATHEN, JAN. 24, 1716. — This day the Presbytery, by reason of the paucity of their numbers, did not proceed to business, as also

that the generality of the brethren had been violently thrust from their charge by the fury and rage of the rebels upon the eighth day of this instant, being the Lord's day, and some of them also turned out since that time—viz., on the fifteenth instant. The brethren present did exhort one another as formerly that they should look upon this as a rod from the hand of the Lord, punishing them for the sins both of minister and people. The brethren prayed earnestly to the Lord for removing His wrath, and that He would set bounds and restrain the fury of those who had risen up against the Lord and His interests.

Refreshing News from Perth.

OLD DEER, FEBRUARY 14, 1716.—This day there being so few present of the brethren, they did not proceed to any business, but exhorted one another to steadfastness as formerly, and that they should bless the Lord for the comfortable news of the rebels running from Perth upon the advance of His Majesty's forces against them, and that they should carry themselves very humbly under such smiling providence; for if the Lord should send a deliverance at this time, it would be an act of wonderful sovereignty.

God's Goodness and Men's Wickedness!

OLD DEER, MARCH 6, 1716.—This day the several brethren informed the Presbytery that by the good providence of the Lord, looking down in mercy upon the Church and this land, the armies of the rebels are scattered, so that the ministers returned all to their charges on the 12th day of February last without let or

molestation. It was also reported that the brethren had behaved themselves faithfully during the whole time of these trials, several of them having been abused and plundered of their goods by the rebels. The Presbytery acknwledged the wonderful goodness of God upon this land; and the several brethren were exhorted to faithfulness and diligence in the Lord's work.

The same day inquiry was made regarding several intrusions upon the charges of the ministers of the bounds during the late rebellion. It was found that one Mr Barclay had entered the church at Peterhead, and also that one Mr Livingstone did possess the church of Old Deer. Both these had carried themselves as if they had relations to these flocks, the legal Establishment, at the very beginning of the Rebellion. It was further reported that one Mr Alex. Craig, another Episcopal preacher, had intruded by turns into the churches of Aberdour, Tyrie, and Fraserburgh; that Mr Alex. Moore did intrude himself upon the church of Fraserburgh; and that Mr Robert Mitchell did preach several times in the churches of Aberdour and Tyrie. It was recommended by the Justices of the Peace that lists of witnesses to prove the said intrusions should be taken; also witnesses anent the behaviour of the Episcopal clergy who possessed kirks within the Presbytery.

The Synod Calls for Action.

Following on the proceedings of the Provincial Synod of Aberdeen on April 1, 1716, we read:—The Presbytery considering how

needful it was that inquiry should be made anent the behaviour of the several brethren within their bounds during the time of the late Rebellion, the brethren were asked one by one if they had firmly adhered to the interests of the Protestant religion, and of his Majesty King George, to which satisfactory answers were gven by all.

The Presbytery considering an Act of the Synod appointing the several Presbyteries to inquire into the behaviour of the several Episcopal incumbents within their respective bounds during the time of the late Rebellion, and that, if they find cause, to summon the said incumbents before them, and proceed against them accordingly—therefore Messrs Leslie and Thomas Gordon were appointed to discourse Mr Hepburn at St. Fergus, Messrs Webster and John Gordon to discourse Mr Alex. Robertson of Longside, Messrs Brown and Mercer to discourse Mr Swan at Pitsligo, and the Moderator and Mr Anderson to discourse Messrs Moore and Craig at Fraserburgh. The several brethren were to ask them if they kept a Fast for success to the Pretender's arms, if they prayed for the said Pretender under the name of King James VIII, or in equivalent terms, and if they had read from their pulpit proclamations for raising men and money for the Pretender, and for observing a day of public thanksgiving for his safe arrival in Scotland; and if, accordingly, they had observed and kept the said Thanksgiving.

Episcopal Clergy Libelled.

KIRK OF TYRIE, APRIL 19, 1716. — The several brethren reported they did discourse the foresaid Episcopal incumbents, but got no ways satisfactory accounts. The Presbytery, however, considering that there was ground to proceed against them for the scandal they had given by deserting a Protestant interest and joining in the late Rebellion, did therefore draw up a libel against Mr Alex. Robertson, incumbent at Longside. Mr William Swan, incumbent at Pitsligo, Mr Alex. Hepburn, intruder at St. Fergus, Mr John (?) Barclay, preacher in the meeting-house of Peterhead, Mr William Livingstone, preacher in the meeting-house of Old Deer, and Mr Alex. Craig, living in Fraserburgh. The libel alleged that Messrs Robertson and Swan kept a Fast for the success of the Pretender's arms, that they read proclamations emitted by his authority for levying men and money for his service, that they read a proclamation for a Thanksgiving for his safe arrival in Scotland, and kept the said public Thanksgiving, and that they prayed for him either nominative or in equivalent terms; and all this in their respective churches. Messrs Hepburn, Barclay, Livingstone, and Craig, were accused of all the above-mentioned particulars, and likewise that they did during the said Rebellion intrude into the following churches—viz., Messrs Barclay and Hepburn into the Church of Peterhead, Mr Livingstone into the Church of Old Deer, and Mr Craig into the Churches of Fraserburgh, Tyrie, and

Aberdour, where they kept Fasts and Thanksgivings as aforesaid.

All these men were summoned to attend the meeting of the Presbytery at Crimond on May 8, and witnesses were to be cited.

[NOTE.—The reference to the Rev. "John" Barclay is apparently a slip of the pen. It was Alexander Barclay who seized the Kirk of Peterhead; and, as will be seen, it was Alexander who was deposed.]

Mr Robertson's Defence.

CRIMOND, MAY 8, 1716.—Mr Alex. Robertson, Episcopal incumbent of Longside, was called, and compeared. He acknowledged that he had received a libel sent him from the Presbytery, and also a citation to that diet. Asked to answer to the several articles in his libel, he gave in a declinature, refusing to subject himself to the Presbytery; and thereupon he took instruments in the hands of the Presbytery clerk. The sum of his statement was that he, by the Acts of Parliament, 1693-1695, was, as an Episcopal minister, freed from any subjection to Presbyterian Church judicatory, and that the things libelled against him were crimes of a high nature, cognisable by the civil magistrates. Mr Auchenleck requested that no regard should be had to Mr Robertson's protestation, because he was only liable for the scandals of those facts narrated in his libel. Mr Auchenleck argued that the very Acts of Parliament cited by Mr Robertson obliged the Episcopal ministers to subject themselves to Presbyterian Church judicatories;

and thereon he also took instruments. The witnesses summoned for proving the libel were called, but did not compear; whereupon the Moderator summoned Mr Robertson *apud acta* to the next Presbytery, to meet in the church at Peterhead, May 29.

Mr Hepburn Refuses to Answer.

Mr Hepburn was next called, and compeared. The Moderator, having asked some questions founded on the libel, Mr Hepburn refused to answer. He gave in a declinature in the same terms as Mr Robertson, and thereupon took instruments. Mr Webster reprotested that Mr Hepburn and all in his circmstances were legally liable to the jurisdiction of the Presbyteries in whose bounds they resided; and thereupon he also took instruments. The witnesses were called but did not compear. Mr Hepburn was cited to the next meeting of the Presbytery.

Evidence Against Mr Swan.

Mr Swan presented himself, and set up the same defence. In his case, however, the witnesses did attend.

Alex. Robb, Catcairne, declared upon oath that Mr Swan kept a Fast on some day of November last, that he read a proclamation emitted by the Pretender's authority for a Thanksgiving for his safe arrival, and that he held a Day of Thanksgiving upon one or other of the days of January and February last, preaching the said day.

William Duncan, Schoolmaster at Pitsligo, corroborated, adding that he never heard Mr Swan pray for King George; and similar

evidence was given by William Cumming, younger, in Pitulie. The Presbytery delayed the further consideration of Mr Swan's case till its meeting at Peterhead, to which he was summoned.

The Situation in Peterhead.

Next Mr Barclay was called, but compeared not. The witnesses in his affair, however, were present — viz., William Arbuthnot in Peterhead, Mr James Thom, senior, and Mr James Thom, younger, his son. William Arbuthnot, age fifty, married, deponed that Mr Barclay, preacher at Peterhead, did intrude into the church at Peterhead, and kept possession thereof some months last winter; that he read a proclamation in that pulpit for levying men for the Pretender's service; that he read another proclamation for keeping a Thanksgiving for his safe arrival in Scotland, and kept the said Thanksgiving by preaching that day, being the 2nd of February last; and that the said Mr Barclay prayed publicly in the said church for the Pretender under the name and title of King James VIII. The Thoms, father and son, corroborated.

Messrs Livingstone and Craig.

Mr Livingstone was called, but neither he nor the witnesses appeared. All were cited to the next meeting.

Finally Mr Craig was called. He compeared not, but the witnesses were present— James Mitchell, and James Phillip in Tyrie. Mitchell, age thirty, who was corroborated by Phillip, age twenty-seven, said that on a

Sabbath in January last, Mr Craig intruded into the kirk in Tyrie, and prayed for the Pretender under the title of King James VIII., and that he again preached in the said kirk on February 2, observing that day as a Thanksgiving for the Pretender's safe arrival, and praying for him as above.

James Youngson, aged fifty-two, and William Cui, aged thirty-nine, deponed that they heard Mr Alexander Craig preach three Sabbath days in the kirk of Aberdour, where he prayed for the Pretender under the name and title of King James VIII.

Messrs Craig and Barclay Deposed.

The Presbytery, finding how clear the witnesses were anent Craig and Barclay, did find, Primo, concerning Mr Alexander Barclay, in Peterhead, that he intruded upon the congregation in Peterhead, and preached in the said church during the late Rebellion, and there prayed publicly for the Pretender under the name and title of King James VIII., read several scandalous proclamations, and kept a day of Thanksgiving for the Pretender's safe arrival; 2nd, concerning Mr Craig, they found that he had intruded upon the congregations of Tyrie and Aberdour, preached in those churches, and prayed openly therein for the Pretender, under the name and title of King James VIII., and preached a Thanksgiving service for his landing. Upon all which the Presbytery, after mature deliberation, fully advising the matter, and calling on the Lord for light and direction, did in name and authority of the

Lord Jesus Christ, the only Head and King of His Church, depose the said Messrs Craig and Barclay from exercising any part of the ministerial function, it being too evident that they had cast off allegiance to a Protestant king, and openly espoused a Romish Pretender's interest; the Presbytery appointed Mr Guthrie to intimate the deposition of Mr Barclay from the pulpit of Peterhead, and Messrs Brown and Mercer to intimate from their pulpits the deposition of Mr Craig, which was also done at the church door of Crimond, in which the Presbytery were sitting."

Messrs Robertson and Hepburn "Contumacious."

PETERHEAD, MAY 29, 1716. — Neither Mr Robertson nor the witnesses in his case compeared. This was considered contumacious conduct on the part of Mr Robertson, and he was suspended from the exercise of his ministry till the next meeting of the Presbytery.

The same action was taken in the case of Mr Hepburn, who also, with the witnesses, failed to appear.

A document was handed in from Mr Livingstone, declining the authority of the Presbytery, and alleging the Act of Toleration and other Acts of Parliament. He was cited to attend next meeting at Old Deer.

Mr Swan's Confession.

Mr Swan was called, and compeared. He confessed the irregular steps he had made in keeping the Fast for the Pretender's success,

etc., acknowledged he was sorry for such conduct, and promised never to do the like. He being removed, the Presbytery did discourse his case at some length, and thought fit to delay till next meeting at Lonmay.

The brethren reported that they had intimated the sentences against Barclay and Craig.

PETERHEAD, MAY 30, 1716.—This day the presbytery libelled Mr Moore in Fraserburgh, and cited him to attend at Lonmay, June 19.

Mr Livingstone Deposed.

OLD DEER, JUNE 11, 1716. — Mr Livingstone was called, but compeared not. It was shown that he had preached in the church of Old Deer in October, November, and December, 1715, and January and February, 1716. The usual charges were preferred against him, and sustained. Deposed.

Mr Hepburn did not appear, and he was summoned to next meeting, the sentence of suspension being continued. (Observe the hesitancy of the Presbytery to depose Mr Hepburn.)

Cases Referred to Synod.

LONMAY, JUNE 19, 1716.—After evidence, the case of Mr Alexander Robertson, Longside, was remitted to the committee of Synod to meet in Aberdeen on July 3. Mr Swan's case was also referred to the Synod.

Mr Moore compeared, but refused to answer any questions bearing on his libel, and declined the authority of the Presbytery. He was summoned to meet the Presbytery at Fraserburgh, on June 26.

St. Fergus Witnesses Refuse to Depone.

FRASERBURGH, JUNE 26, 1716.—Mr Hepburn appeared. The witnesses also attended, but refused to depone against him. He and the witnesses were summoned to meet the Synod, and the suspension was continued.

(There is no mention of Mr Moore.)

More Depositions.

CRIMOND, JULY 17, 1716.—It was reported that the committee of Synod had deposed Messrs Robertson and Swan from the exercise of their ministry. The Churches of Longside and Pitsligo were to be preached vacant. It was also reported that Mr Alexander Hepburn and the witnesses in his case had not compeared at the Synod, and the matter was sent back to the Presbytery.

Messrs Thomas Gordon and J. Mercer reported that, conform to the appointment of the committee of Synod, they had intimated the deposition of Messrs Robertson and Swan unto the respective congregations, and declared the Kirks of Longside and Pitsligo vacant upon the 8th day of this July, being the Lord's Day, but were opposed in that matter, and got not access to any of the kirks. Yet Mr Mercer preached in the school-house of Pitsligo to a handful.

Presbytery Invokes the Civil Power.

The Presbytery, considering the said opposition, judged it vain to appoint supplies for these churches till access be got to them, in order to which the Presbytery appointed

Messrs Auchenleck and Mercer to draw up a representation of that affair and send to the ministers of Aberdeen.

The Presbytery appointed Messrs Auchenleck, Thomas Gordon, and J. Mercer, to apply to Colonel Ogilvie and the Laird of Boyndlie, Justices of the Peace, and oblige Mr Hepburn and the witnesses in his process to compear and depone in Mr Hepburn's affairs, and to cause the officer to summon them, by virtue of that warrant, if obtained from the justices, to the next diet.

The Presbytery appointed Mr Moore and his witnesses to be cited to next meeting.

Mr John Gordon reported that he had intimated Mr Livingstone's deposition unto the congregation of Old Deer.

Messrs Hepburn and Moore again Fail to Appear.

RATHEN, AUGUST 6, 1716.—It is reported this day that a representation of the affairs at Longside and Pitsligo had been drawn up and sent to the ministers at Aberdeen, but no reply had been received.

It was further reported that a warrant had been received for the appearance of Mr Hepburn and his witnesses at this diet. They were called, but compeared not.

Mr Moore also failed to appear.

Deposition of Mr Moore.

OLD DEER, AUGUST 23, 1716. — Reported that as yet no access got to the kirks of Longside and Pitsligo. Mr Moore was called, but did not answer. Unanimously deposed.

Mr Hepburn appeared. On behalf of the witnesses in his case it was claimed that they had not been legally cited by authority of any civil judge, inasmuch as they lived within the shire of Banff, to whose jurisdiction they were liable.

Mr Mercer asked that no regard be paid to this protestation, it not being on stamped paper, as the Act of Parliament now required. Further he argued that whatever shire they lived in, the witnesses were now within the bounds of the Presbytery of Deer, and were summoned by their authority, as well as by that of the civil magistrate. The case was delayed till advice could be had on this nice point of law.

In the case of Mr Moore, witnesses deponded that he had preached in the kirk of Fraserburgh, giving thanks for the Pretender's safe arrival, and saying that this was "a great ground of praising God." Deposed.

Application to the Sheriff of Banff.

RATHEN, SEPTEMBER 6, 1716. — Mr John Gordon was appointed to wait on the Earl of Findlater, as Sheriff Principal of Banffshire, with a letter from the Presbytery to his Lordship, bearing an account of the witnesses of St. Fergus (the parish being in his Sheriffdom), and craving that his Lordship would oblige the witnesses to compear and depone.

Widening the Net for Mr Hepburn.

RATHEN, OCTOBER 11, 1716. — The Presbytery decided to serve an additional libel on Mr Hepburn for joining with the rebels in

proclaiming the Pretender at Peterhead, and intruding into that church, and praying there for the Pretender under the name and title of King James VIII. Other witnesses, it was said, might be got in Peterhead for proving the same.

Mr Hepburn's Doings at Peterhead.

PETERHEAD, OCTOBER 25, 1716.—Still no access to the kirks of Pitsligo and Longside. Mr Udny was appointed to preach in Pitsligo, and Mr Smith in Longside, when access could be had.

Mr Hepburn appeared, and refused to confess his libel. Evidence was led. One witness deponed that he saw Mr Hepburn on September 23, 1715, at the Cross of Peterhead, when the Pretender was proclaimed, among a crowd of people who were convoked to proclaim the Pretender King of these realms, and were drinking, breaking glasses, and shooting guns. Moreover he heard Mr Hepburn preach in the kirk of Peterhead, on the last Sabbath in December.

Delayed till next meeting. (Still no deposition !)

Appeal to Sheriff-Substitute of Aberdeen.

FRASERBURGH, NOVEMBER 8, 1716. — The Presbytery wrote a letter to the Sheriff-Substitute of Aberdeen, craving him to stop the deposed Episcopal preachers, and open the kirk doors of Longside and Pitsligo to the Presbytery.

Mr Hepburn—Deposed at last!

NEW DEER, NOVEMBER 20, 1716.—No access to the kirks. The Presbytery took up the case of Mr Hepburn, and came to a resolution at last. Mr Hepburn was condemned as disloyal and contumacious; his language was characterised as "unministerial"; and he was unanimously deposed.

A letter was sent to General Carpenter, at Aberdeen, regarding the kirks at Longside and Pitsligo.

Mr Auchenleck was appointed to preach at St. Fergus how soon he understands the doors were made patent to the Presbytery.

Rabble at St. Fergus.

STRICHEN, DECEMBER 18, 1716.—It was reported that Mr Anderson could not preach at St. Fergus, being "opposed by a mob"—a big mob, apparently, for the Presbytery clerk spells it with two "b's."

Mr Mercer reported a visit to General Carpenter. "Assurance was given of speedie access to the vacant kirks, of which conduct he (General Carpenter) was opposed."

The Earl of Findlater was informed of Mr Hepburn's deposition.

"There came letters from the Sheriff unto all the deposed Episcopal preachers charging them to desist from the exercise of their ministry, which were appointed to be delivered."

A letter was written to the heritors and representatives of the parishes of Longside, Pitstligo, and St. Fergus, craving their concurrence in filling the vacancies.

Access to Churches.

ABERDEEN, JANUARY 29, 1717. — Mr Auchenleck reported that on 30th December he got access to the kirk of St. Fergus, and preached; Mr Udny reported that he had preached in Pitsligo; and Mr Smith reported that he had preached at Longside.

A letter was read from Lady Pitsligo, refusing to concur in planting that church; and Faichfield, one of the heritors of Longside, also refused to concur in planting the kirk there.

The Presbytery, considering the right to appoint had fallen into their hands, unanimously called Mr John Forbes to Pitsligo, and Mr John Lumsden to Longside.

Ordination at Pitsligo.

PITSLIGO, FEBRUARY 19, 1717. — Mr Mercer reported that he had preached at Pitsligo. An appearance was made for Mr Swan that he was not legally deposed, and a protest was lodged against the ordination of Mr Forbes. The Presbytery, however, proceeded to ordain, and at the close of the service the congregation was "dismissed with prayer, singing of psalms, and the blessing."

Ordination at Longside.

LONGSIDE, FEBRUARY 20, 1717. — Mr Robertson had "appeared with some people of the parish," and alleged that he was not legally deposed, and protested against Mr Lumsden's ordination to Longside. Andrew Arbuthnot of Rora craved delay, which the Presbytery saw no cause to grant, and the ordination proceeded.

Prosecuting the Schoolmasters.

OLD DEER, JAN. 1, 1717.—Mr Willox, Schoolmaster at Old Deer, and Mr Alex. Gordon, Schoolmaster at Longside, were libelled for complying with the late Rebellion.

FRASERBURGH, JULY 2, 1717.—Witnesses swore that Mr William Duncan, Schoolmaster at Pitsligo, had read from the latron papers emitted by the late Earl of Mar's authority, for levying men with fire-locks and broad-swords and tartan plaids, for the service of "King James VIII." Mr Duncan to be cited to the next meeting.

Mr Robert Mitchell, at Gamrey, libelled, according to Act of Synod. It was deponed that he had preached in the kirk of Tyrie on the Lord's Day in February, 1716, the lawful minister having been thrust out by the rebels, and that he prayed for the Pretender as King James VIII. Continued.

OLD DEER, AUGUST 13, 1717.—Mr Gordon appeared and denied his libel. Evidence led. Date of offence—"one or other of the Sabbaths of October, November, or December, 1715, or January or February, 1716." Asked by the Presbytery if he was sorry for complying so with the rebels, he refused to give any satisfaction. Deposed from his office and inhibited from entering into any part thereof within the bounds of the Presbytery.

Mr Hepburn in the Kirk again.

STRICHEN, AUGUST 23, 1717. — Mr Hepburn has again taken possession of the kirk of St. Fergus. The Presbytery resolved to consult the Synod.

Mr Mitchell appeared, acknowledged his libel, expressed sorrow, and explained that he had been "pressed to what he did." Suspended until next Synod.

Reported that Mr Alexander Robertson had again intruded at Longside, Mr Wm. Swan at Pitsligo, and Mr William Livingstone at Old Deer. They were cited to appear before a Justice of the Peace Court in Aberdeen, on the first Tuesday of October.

Criminal Letters to be Raised.

ABERDEEN, OCTOBER 2, 1717.—The Justices of the Peace refused to meddle with the Episcopal clergy. The Synod having appointed Mr James Gordon, Mr John Forbes, and Mr Lumsden to repair to Edinburgh for raising Criminal Letters and pursuing the Episcopal clergy in the Synod, before the Lords of Justiciary, the Presbytery decided to draw up information anent those in their bounds, and recommended their members to be careful of that process.

OLD DEER, OCTOBER 22, 1717. — Willox's affair postponed till the result of the Criminal Court Process is known.

It was reported that there was no access to the kirk of St. Fergus.

The Synod had continued the suspension of Mr Mitchell.

Criminal Process "Satisfactory."

LONMAY, JANUARY 21, 1718. — This day Messrs Forbes and Lumsden returned from Edinburgh and reported that the Criminal Process against the Episcopal clergy was

ended and that a favourabe sentence had been obtained; but that the Presbytery had not got access to the kirks.

ABERDOUR, MARCH 25, 1718.—Mr Forbes reports that, acting on instructions from a previous meeting, he had sounded the inclinations of the people of St. Fergus concerning the appointment of a minister, but they had refused to signify their inclinations for any minister, referring the settlement of the place to the Presbytery.

The Presbytery appointed Mr William Leslie.

The Crime of Keeping a Meeting-House.

OLD DEER, JULY 1, 1718. — The Presbytery appointed Mr William Livingstone, who had again set up a Meeting-house at Old Deer, though deposed, to be cited to the Quarter Session of the Justice of the Peace Court in Aberdeen, on the first Tuesday of August.

LONGSIDE, SEPTEMBER 2, 1718. — The Moderator reported that he had attended the Quarter Sessions, and got a sentence ordaining Mr Livingstone's Meeting-house to be shut up, the said Livingstone to be cited to enact in the Justice of the Peace Court Books that he shall desist from the exercise of the ministry in all time coming in this country, and that according to this sentence he (the Moderator) had caused the said Livingstone to enact himself in the manner foresaid, but that the constable was opposed in shutting up the Meeting-house. The Presbytery approved of the Moderator's conduct.

RATHEN, SEPTEMBER 23, 1718. — Willox to be proceeded against, not only for his conduct during the last Rebellion, but for acting as precentor in a meeting-house at Old Deer.

The Redoubtable Alexander Hepburn.

And so from month to month and year to year, the weary tale of religious and political strife drags its tortuous way through the records of the Church. The personality of the moment was undoubtedly the "intruder" of St. Fergus. Able, resourceful, and courageous, for a long period of years he defied and outwitted the Presbytery of Deer with an audacity that was at once amusing and pathetic. His success cannot wholly be ascribed to the fact that he had behind him the influence of the Earl Marischal, whose chaplain he was. Others had the same backing. The real explanation seems to be that Mr Hepburn was a strong character — hot-headed and impatient to a degree, yet, like many men of this type, likeable and lovable, a *persona grata* with the better classes and "hail-fellow-well-met" amongst the people. The fact that not a single person in the parish of St. Fergus could be found to witness against him is significant; and though the moving spirit of the anti-Presbyterian party in this part of Buchan, he was the last Episcopal minister to be deposed.

Capitulation at St. Fergus.

In 1718 he capitulated to *force majeure.* He had baffled the Presbytery, but he could not circumvent the Crown. The same year

Mr William Dunbar, of Cruden, "more concerned for the fate of his flock than for himself" peaceably surrendered his benefice; and we can trace Dunbar's moderating influence in Mr Hepburn's untoward submissiveness at this time. On November 13, 1718 Mr William Leslie was "solemnly admitted to be minister of St. Fergus," and one of the consenting parties to this arrangement was Mr George Fordyce, Provost of Aberdeen, and factor for the attainted estates of the Earl Marischal. Mr Hepburn attended a meeting of the Presbytery the same day and (with a sad heart, we may be sure) handed over the keys of the manse, and also the Church properties—a Bible, four old Communion cups of pewter, a Communion-Table cloth, a mort-cloth of velvet, a Baptismal basin, a Session box, the Session register, some Minutes, and a bond of the Earl Marischal for 500 merks. In June of the following year he assisted at a Visitation of the manse, and everything went nicely until he lodged a claim for a sum of 700 merks Scots, which, he said, had been spent out of his own purse on repairs. The Presbytery were too cautious to acknowledge the debt; whereupon Mr Hepburn entered a caveat, denounced the Visitation as illegal, and quitted the meeting in "dudgeon and hostility." But there the matter ended. The money was not paid to him; the Presbytery's idea being that as he had drawn the stipend of a charge to which he had never been legally admitted, he had fared not so badly after all.

Parting Shots.

The years brought peace—for a time. Presbytery was safe: the new Royal Succession felt secure: and there was a gradual slackening of repressive measures against the Episcopal clergy, though the Jacobite schoolmasters were sternly dealt with. Now and then a warning shot was fired. At a meeting of the Presbytery at Crimond on February 18, 1721, "representations" were drawn up against Mr Swan, late incumbent at Pitsligo; Mr Coutts, late schoolmaster, and now Meeting-house keeper at Fraserburgh, and Mr Cuming and Mr Dunbar, Meeting-house keepers at Peterhead: but it was only a pen-and-ink affair. As late as July, 1730, the Presbytery suspended from his office one of the elders of Crimond, James Nisbet, for having joined in public worship "on the Lord's Day in the illegal Jacobite Meeting-house near the Church of Lonmay," and for being present "on another Lord's Day" at divine service "in the Jacobite Meeting-house at Longside." The use of the word Jacobite suggests that the Presbytery were anxious to take up a strictly constitutional attitude, and to make it clear that the root-motive of their hostility to "the Meeting-houses" was not religious, but political. We find them, in April, 1732, directing their Assembly Commissioners to call the attention of the Supreme Court to the fact that "Jacobite Meeting-houses did greatly increase," and that "their preachers did successfully persuade delinquents not to satisfy the discipline of the Church" — the

said preachers being apparently (and not unreasonably) desirous of exercising spiritual authority over the erring members of their own flock. But on the whole, there was a general desire for peace; and in a few years' time both parties learned (in some small measure at any rate) to accommodate themselves to their changed conditions, and to live together, if not in friendliness, at least in a state of mutual tolerance.

The Suffering Church.

We are not inclined to agree with Dean Archibald and the Rev. Adam Mackay that "the years which sapped the power of Episcopacy were much more the years between 1715 and 1745 than the years which followed." Between 1715 and the "'45" the Disestablished Church suffered sorely, and lost heavily; but it was a time of faithful teaching, of building up in the distinctive principles of the Church's Faith. After the somewhat tepid and colourless Episcopacy of the Restoration, such teaching was sadly needed; and had it not been given, had the clergy been unable to impart it during twenty or thirty years of comparative peace, then we are inclined to believe that the persecution which swept over the Church after the Rebellion of 1745, would not only have maimed her, as it did, but would have ruined and destroyed her utterly. Episcopalians learned that their Church stood for something bigger and greater than even the divine right of kings; and thus when the storm of 1746 burst with pitiless fury on clergy and laity

alike, though many wavered and fell back, there was not wanting a faithful remnant who through good and evil report remained unflinchingly true to the standards of Evangelic Truth and Apostolic Order.

NOTES.

A JACOBITE SHERIFF-DEPUTE.—The following is from the Session Records of Old Aberdeen:—"3 Oct., 1715.—The said day Mr Alexander Barcklay, somtyme incumbent of Peterhead, did, by order of Patrick Sandilands, Sheriff-depute of Aberdeen, intrude and take possession of the church, and no access thereto being allowed to the minister, albeit he came at the ordinary time at the ringing of the third and last bell to have preached to the congregation, yet was not allowed access by Patrick Sandilands yr., of Cottoun, Sheriff-depute of Aberdeen, to the Church, unless he would go in upon such terms as he proposed, which, being altogether unreasonable, he refused to do; and the minister told the said Patrick Sandilands that what he did in this affair in stopping him from having access to preach to his congregation should be on his peril, and immediately the minister, with the congregation, went from the church door to the minister's own house, and the minister, preached there to the people in the forenoon." Mr Sandilands paid for his zeal by the sacrifice of his post. When the Rebellion was crushed he found his vocation gone. There was another Sheriff-Depute!

1689.—The following are the names of leading office-bearers in the last Episcopal Establishment

Representatives of some of these families are happily still amongst us:

Alexander Mitchell	George Ogston
Andrew Hay (Magistrate)	Robert Arbuthnot
William Smith (Magistrate)	James Gordon
Gilbert Young	Mitchell Mill
James Clerk	Andrew Suter
Andrew Ritchie	John Mill
William Mitchell	George Mill
James Volum	Alex. Arthur
Gilbert Robb	John Robertson
John Walker	John Young
John Boggie	William Gavin
George Davidson	John Slessor
George Arthur	John Thomson
Alex. Fraser	Alex. Bissett

Meeting-Houses.—The term was expressive, and not inaccurate; but it had a touch of contempt. Professor Lawson, in "A Book of the Parish of Deir," says it was used "with that sublime scorn which has so lamentably infected many bodies of Christians, as if contempt were argument, and as if the Gospel with its message of grace and good did not point the way to reverence for all sincere worship." But in those weary days men of all parties were in too many cases partizans first and Christian philosophers afterwards.

The Rev. Alexander Barclay. — Mr Barclay's intrusion at Auchterless took place in October, 1704; and it is probable he had some sort of following, for the legal minister of the parish did not enter into possession until May, 1706. Mr Barclay graduated at King's College, Aberdeen, July 9, 1668. He married Margaret Burnett, and his mother was Janet Hepburn.

Baptism of Infants. — Early baptism was the rule of the Church during this period. In 1672 an Act was passed declaring that "such persons who shall hereafter keip their children unbaptised for the space of thirty days together, or shall not produce a certificat, under the hand of the minister of the paroche, bearing that the child was baptized within the said space, shall inour and be liable to the pains and penalties following." Both during Episcopal time before the Revolution, and in Presbyterian times after the Revolution, parents were taken to task by the Church Courts for deferring the baptism of their children, and "contemning the ordinance." (See "Old Church Life," pp. 220-221.)

Barclays and Gordons.—The writer has been unable to learn what connection, if any, the Rev. Alexander Barclay was to the Rev. John Barclay, who for sometime ministered to the Episcopaliana of Peterhead after the Revolution. He understands, however, from information kindly placed at his disposal by the Rev. P. J. Beveridge, Lonmay, that John Barclay was a scion of a distinguished house. He was a son of the Rev. Adam Barclay, minister of Keig, and a grandson of the Laird of Gartly (also the Rev. Adam Barclay); and his mother was a daughter of the Laird of Skene. The Rev. John Barclay was twice married—first, to Christian Hay, and second to Ann Gordon, elder daughter of William Gordon, who was a son of the Laird of Buthlaw; Ann Gordon's mother was Elizabeth Martin or Morton of Clerkhill. Mr Barclay's children by his second marriage were—Mary, Elizabeth, James, Ann, William, Charles, and Jean. Mary married her cousin, John Gordon, advocate, of Buthlaw; Jean married her cousin, Thomas Gordon, merchant

in Aberdeen; and Ann married Capt. John Thomson, son of the Laird of Faichfield. One of the children by Mr Barclay's first marriage was George, merchant in London and Jamaica, who in 1752 purchased the lands of Cairness, Cairnglass, and Invernorth from Lord Saltoun. On the fly-leaf of an old Prayer Book (1637) it is stated that Ann Barclay (Mrs Thomson) died on June 10, 1766, and was buried in the Churchyard of Peterhead, "near to her dear father and mother" (the latter died in 1765, aged 84 years.) In 1776 the lands of Cairness, &c., were conveyed to Jean Barclay's son, Charles Gordon, junior, who in the same year succeeded to Buthlaw and Newtyle.

V. TOLERATION—AND THE "45."

The Rev. Alexander Barclay.

Mr Barclay slips silently from our ken. There is no record of when or where he died. Evidently it was before 1721, for in that year, as we have seen, a Mr Cuming—probably in association with Bishop Dunbar—was conducting a Meeting-house in Peterhead, and was under the surveillance of the Presbytery of Deer. Mr Barclay appears to have been a man of ability, with some gfts of leadership; and it is evident that he exercised a considerable measure of influence in the counsels of the disestablished Church in Aberdeenshire. Certainly his ministry in Peterhead was eminently successful, if one may judge from the healthy financial condition of the Parish Kirk in his time, and the demand for increased accommodation for the worshippers. Weaker or less assertive men retained their parishes peacefully enough for a long time after the Revolution, but Mr Barclay was driven from church and manse within ten years of the great upheaval. He was a militant; and he paid the price.

Mr Hepburn's Ministry.

In the year 1713 we find Mr Hepburn definitely settled at Peterhead. He purchased at that time from the Merchant Maiden Hospital the property now known as No. 5 Port Henry Lane, next door to the building in which the

extruded minister of Peterhead had exercised his office. Mr Hepburn secured "the houses, biggings, yards, and well," together with the liberty of "trading and fraternising as a burgess" of Peterhead, and of casting peats, "feuall," and divots "in the moss known as Megg's Moss" (Blackhill), for an annual duty of 3/11 Scots; his heirs to pay on their entry "an angel-nobel, with a purse containing five shillings and sixpence therein." Here he remained until his death in November, 1737, when the property passed into the hands of his heirs, and subsequently came into the possession of the Rev. Dr Moir, minister of the Established Church, whose father, Mr John Moir, Kirktown, Longside, had purchased it from Mr Hepburn's son-in-law, John Duncan, dyer, Peterhead. It is now the property of Bailie Catto, and is used as a barrel factory.

William Dunbar, Bishop.

Mr William Dunbar, Cruden, after his deprivation, settled in Peterhead, and he and Mr Hepburn were brothers-in-arms for several years. Through their joint efforts, assisted by some of the most influential citizens, a church was built and opened in 1731. Mr Dunbar may, we think, be claimed as one of the clergy of St. Peter's, and his name adds lustre to a long roll of able, scholarly, and devoted men. His was a fine and singularly beautiful nature; and the Episcopal community in the North is under a real obligation to the author of "Cruden and its Ministers" for the shrewdness and sympathy with which he describes the

character of this good and humble-minded man. On March 1, 1718, sentence was pronounced against Mr Dunbar for intruding into the Parish Church of Cruden, leasonmaking, and praying for the Pretender; and he was ordered to remove from the parish. "More concerned for the fate of the flock than for himself," adds Mr Mackay, in a generous and significant sentence, he "ungrudgingly submitted." Mr Dunbar was consecrated at Edinburgh, on June 18, 1727, for the Diocese of Moray and Ross, and as coadjutor to the Bishop of Edinburgh; and in June 1733, he was elected to Aberdeen. But he continued to reside in Peterhead, and took an active part in the preliminary arrangements for the erection in 1731 of what (it was fondly hoped) would be a permanent and properly equipped place of worship for his co-religionists in the town. His name appears in the list of persons who purchased "that part of Bowden's Croft," with adjacent ground—in the Broadgate of Peterhead, almost directly opposite the present Town House—on which the church was built. It was a modest building, costing £329, comely withal, and having some pretensions to architectural dignity. The ground-right, purchased from Alexander Carle, shipmaster, cost only £3 6s 8d, and was conveyed to Robert Arbuthnot, merchant in Peterhead, Dr Thomas Gordon, Bailie Thomas Arbuthnot, William Dunbar, and several others. About £60 was gathered by voluntary subscriptions, and the rest of the money was raised on loan—not because of any unwillingness to contribute, but because the keen-

minded managers were confident that in a few years the ordinary income of the church would meet every penny of the charges.

The Finance of the Chapel.

The Treasurer was Mr Thomas Arbuthnot, and his statement of expenditure is complete down to the last farthing. Some of the items make quaint and interesting reading:—

To 10 thousand sclates	£15	10	0
Paid masons for building the House...	14	9	4
Wool and hair for the plaister... ...	0	4	9
Paid for colouring the Pulpitt & Latron	0	1	0
Paid for Linnen Clouth for Communion Table...	0	6	4½
Ceiling, Boxing, & Painting the Chappell	24	8	6½
9½ hunder double, double, double slate and scupper nails	0	6	11
Drink money to Wm. Tytler for scaffolding the House	0	2	6
Ditto to Richard Wallace, Plumber ...	0	2	6
Wm. Tytler for workmanship of five new pillars	5	10	0
John Smith for cleaning and laquering the Hearse	0	2	6
Folio Bible and two Folio Prayer Books	4	0	6
John Kemp for Cleaning and Laying over the back of the Alter with Lintseed Oyll	0	1	6½

There were forty pews in the church, and they were all let, bringing in a yearly rent of £204 16s Scots. One pew was apportioned to the shipmasters, who appear

to have collected the rent in turn, amounting to £5 yearly. In 1738 the treasurer was Alexander Forbes. His Statement of Accounts for the year shows a flourishing and progressive congregation. The debt on the Church had already been extinguished, and the year's accounts, which began with a credit balance of £9 10s, ended with a surplus of over £322. The income included £240 16s from "seatt rents," £311 12s 2d from collections, £18 8s 2d "left in dytes" (a dyte or "doit" was the twelfth part of a penny), and £7 8s 6d from the sale of "bad babees." Church records in every part of Scotland show that "bad babees" were a source of grave worry to managers and elders. Mr Hepburn was paid at the rate of £240 a year (Scots, be it noted), and the accounts before us show that "the deceased Mr Heburn" received his salary up to November, 1737.

Robert Kilgour.

Then for the first time we come into touch with Mr Robert Kilgour, who took over the duties of the charge on Mr Hepburn's death, and who, being a young man, and inexperienced, had to content himself for a time with one half of his predecessor's salary. He was born at Waulkmill, Cruden, in 1714, and graduated at the University of Aberdeen in 1733. Thus as a stripling of three-and-twenty he began in Peterhead a ministry which was destined to last for over half a century. Long years of persecution had reduced the Church in the southern shires

of Scotland to the shadow of a shade, and even in the North it had suffered grievous losses. But in Peterhead the work of consolidation had gone steadily forward. Mr Kilgour took charge of a strong and united congregation; and his ministry was peacefuly pursued without serious molestation, until the tragic year of '45. "Bonnie Prince Charlie" came, and saw, and conquered—many hearts; but his cause was lost, and its pennant lowered forever, in the barbarous massacre on Culloden Moor. Then, with a vindictiveness which is almost unparalleled in our national history, the Government set its hand to the task of extirpating Scottish Episcopacy. The Church, as a Church, had been innocent of all complicity in the Rising. Only two of her clergy had followed the Chevalier's army; and it was notorous that sympathy with the exiled House was not confined to any one section of the Scottish people. But His Majesty's Ministers had made up their minds. Episcopacy was the enemy. Destroy it! Root it out! And the King's dragoons swept the country, pillaging parsonages and burning churches as they went.

Presbyterians and the Persecution.

It is alleged that "the Presbyteries or other informers" usually set the law in motion. In fairness, let us say that, so far as the Presbytery of Deer were concerned, there is no evidence of this. On the contrary, we find that when asked to furnish a list of persons within their bounds who had taken

part in the Rebellion, the Presbytery, while professing attachment to "the noblest Constitution and the best of Kings," begged to be excused on the ground that they did not wish to run the risk of misleading the Government "either in bestowing their favours or inflicting punishments." There is only passing notice of the events of those stirring times in the Kirk Session minutes of Peterhead. Wednesday, January 9, 1745, was observed as a Fast "for the sins of the land, and for praying for success to the King's Arms." The Rev. John Sim, minister at Lonmay, preached from Ezra IX., 13, 14—"And after all that is come upon us for our evil deeds . . . should we again break Thy commandments and join in affinity with the people of these abominations?" On April 23, 1746, there was thanksgiving for "the defeat of the designs of the rebells, and for a victory obtain'd over them by the Duke of Cumberland"; and on June 26 a similar service was held in acknowledgment of "our deliverance from popery, and for defeating the designs" of the King's enemies. But while their Presbyterian brethren were singing psalms of joy, the Episcopalians might not unfittingly have been chanting their "Miserere." Peterhead was well known to be a disaffected centre, and the "Chappell of St. Peter" in the Broadgate was marked down for immediate destruction. The following Minute, in the neat handwriting of Bishop Kilgour, tells how this wanton work was done:—

The Chappell of Peterhead was Destroyed the 7th, 8th, and 9th days of May, 1746, and the

Managers were obliged to Employ Workmen and pay them in order to prevent its being set on fire, which would Indanger Burning the Town. It was done by orders of Lord Ancrum (Lieut.-Collonell of Lord Mark Ker's Dragoons) who was at the entering the people to work, and successfully executed by the following offieers, viz.—

Capt. Sir Robert Adair
Lieut. Guilford Killigrew
Lieut. G. Belstone, &
Cornet John Throgmorton
} all of Mark Ker's Dragoons.

It cost £328 to build the church: it was destroyed for £1 15s 6d. The tradesmen's account was as follows:—

Account of what is due to joyners and masons for pulling down the Meeting-house in Peterhead.

1746.

May, 7, 8, 9th—Fourteen men's wages for 2½ days at 12 pence per day is in money	£1	15	0
To Cash paid John Clark for building off entry	0	0	6
	£1	15	6

Peterhead, May 16, 1746.

Then received full payment of the above account; and the same hereby fully discharged.

John Clark.
William Smith.

Longside and Old Deer.

At Longside and Old Deer the churches were burned down, and the house of John Skinner of Linshart was plundered with a

shameless disregard of every canon of decency and humanity. "On coming home one evening from performing an occasional office in the way of his duty, he found his house in the possession of a military party, some of them guarding the door, with fixed bayonets, and others searching the several apartments; even the bedchamber where Mrs Skinner was lying-in of her fifth child, and little able to bear such a rude, unseasonable visit. No lenity was to be looked for from such unfeeling visitors, who pillaged the house of everything they could carry with them, hardly leaving a change of linen to father, mother, or child in the family. The Chapel, with all its furniture, was destroyed."—(Memoir prefixed to Mr Skinner's Theological Works, p. IX).

Parliament's Iron Hand.

But the demolition of the Churches was only the beginning of sorrows. An Act of Parliament was passed "more effectively to prohibit and prevent pastors or ministers from officiating in Episcopal meeting-houses in Scotland without duly qualifying themselves according to law, and to punish persons for resorting to any Meeting-houses where such unqualified pastors or ministers shall officiate." Every place where five or more persons assembled for worship was declared to be a Meeting-house within the meaning of the Act, and clergy conducting services rendered themselves liable to a penalty of six months' imprisonment in the first instance, and, for the second offence, of banishment to the plantations for life. The

laity were terrorised by threats of fines and imprisonment; and Peers, Members of Parliament, Magistrates, and Councillors who frequented Meeting-houses were rendered ineligible for their offices. It was further decreed that no Letters of Orders, except such as had been given by some bishop of the Church of England or of Ireland, would be accepted for registration after the first day of September. This iniquitous attempt to put an end to Scottish ordinations did not satisfy the enemies of Episcopacy, for two years later an amending Act was passed under which the registration of Orders from a Scottish bishop, *although already made*, was declared to be null and void; so that the door of repentance was banged, bolted, and barred against every Scottish priest. These were not mere political reprisals. No complaint could have been made had the Government dealt in the most drastic way with indivdual offenders against the King's peace. But a just discrimination of this kind was foreign to its nature. What it embarked upon was an era of fierce religious persecution, naked and unashamed — a deliberate and carefully planned attempt to exterminate a Christian Church by outlawing its worship, penalising its faithful laity, proscribing its ministry, and sterilising its Episcopate.

Episcopalians in Hiding.

Such was the situation with which Robert Kilgour was faced ten years after his settlement in Peterhead. He was now single-handed, for Bishop Dunbar had died in

January, 1746, and the young priest was thrown entirely on his own resources. It is said he was of "a timid disposition." There was no evidence of timidity at this juncture, nor afterwards when he instituted and upheld a non-juring clergyman at Lonmay. We should say he was cautious—the Scots word "canny" expresses the idea better. Unlike John Skinner, he kept on the right side of the prison walls. But he did not cease to minister to his people. There is a loophole in every law, and Kilgour found one in the penal statutes. A document published in 1845, states that "individuals were lately alive who recollected Mr Kilgour performing divine service twelve and fourteen times on the Sunday, at different houses, where as many attended as could join in the service without being seen to the clergyman, or could collect without attracting the notice of the military." In some parts of Scotland during this time the Church practically ceased to exist, literally crushed out of existence; and it says something not only for the patience and loyalty of the people, but also for the personality, influence, and resourcefulness of this "timid" divine, that under such depressing conditions Kilgour held his homeless flock together for twenty long and trying years.

Dawn of Better Days.

King George II. died in 1760, and the severity of the penal laws began gradually to relax. Vexatious interference with the Episcopal clergy and their people ceased,

and informers—vile tools of tyranny—were discountenanced. This enabled Mr Kilgour to gather his congregation together in his own home—a large roomy building facing the North Harbour, at the foot of Port Henry Lane; and here the Episcopalians of Peterhead met regularly for Divine worship, Sunday by Sunday, until the year 1767, when another Church was built. This forward movement was not accomplished without difficulty. For several years there had been a feeling of increased security, and some of the leading churchmen believed that the time had come when they might once again be at liberty to worship God in a House of their own—reared for preference on the site of the ruined and dismantled Church. But Mr Kilgour preferred to hasten slowly. He was not confident that all danger was past; and the erection of a new Church on the identical spot where the old building stood might, he feared, be construed as a provocative act, and "have a natural tendency" to induce a revival of persecution. How deeply the bitter experiences of the past were graven on his mind is shown by the following letter, written by him on February 9, 1765, in answer to the urgent solicitations of some of the influential members of his flock:—

GENTLEMEN,—Ever since the afflicting Providence whereby we were deprived of our House for Public Worship, and subjected to new penalties for our adherence to the Communion of that part of the Catholic Church in this Nation, I thought it my duty to run every risque that was thought reasonable in the discharge of my Office, and to study

the conveniency of the Congregation to the utmost of my power. It therefore cannot but grieve me in the most sensible manner to be thought now less concerned for their convenience and the good of the Church than is consistent with my duty, and to have prejudices raised against me on this account, as you are not ignorant is the case. To remove these prejudices, to vindicate my own conduct, and to make a proposal which will, I hope, by the blessing of God bring about an equitable accommodation of the matter we differ in, is the reason of this trouble I give you.

I am still sensible of, I daily feel and regret, the no small inconveniences we labour under for want of a more enlarged and convenient place to meet in for the Public Worship, and I have often expressed my inclination to concur in any reasonable scheme for getting a convenient House erected here again. You may believe (that) the old ground, where it pitieth us to see our late elegant House lye in its ruins, would have been most eligible to me, as I know it would be to you, to have a new one raised on, had not the place been too straitened in its extent, and too public in its situation in our circumstances. To remedy both these in the best manner I could think of, I proposed to purchase the land immediately at the back of the old ground, and (I) communicated this to more than one of your number, who approved of the same and undertook to do everything they could to procure me the purchase of said land. In which case I engaged to give what ground might be thought necessary by building a new place of worship immediately at the back of the old, whereby the old ground would not be lost, nor, I think, misapplied, but

contribute not a little to the beauty and convenience of the House by being an open area before it. The entry from the Fore Street would still be continued; upon which I proposed there should be a closed gate, and the wall raised a considerable height above, so as that, I think, the congregation could go in and out without being seen from the Broadgate; that the gate should continue shut for some time at least, and the congregation go in and out at the gate of a feu at the back of it: thereby using all the caution possible, and shunning observation as far as in us lye, which in our circumstances I think absolutely necessary. I hope the gentlemen to whom I communicated my mind on this subject will do me the justice to own that this is the only plan I ever agreed to: and hereby I declare, and have ever declared, that I am willing to concur in this or any other scheme for getting a Place of Worship where the same caution and retiredness is consulted.

I am informed that the generality of the gentlemen, Managers for the old Chappell, and not a few others of the Congregation, think no such caution necessary, and therefore are for having a new Chappell built upon the old ground, or rather still nearer the publick street, and without any entry from the street. I am sorry I cannot concur with them in this, because I think it would not consist with my safety, and might be of very dangerous consequences to the poor remains of the Church in this corner, for me to propose to officiate in a Place of Worship erected in so publick a place, and in so distinguished a manner, as none else in the Kingdom is so far as I know, and when by reason of the concourse of strangers here in the season of drinking the

mineral water, I think we are more likely to be taken notice of than in any place I can think of. This is lookt upon by some as no suffioient reason for my not concurring, and, perhaps, as a blameable timidity and weakness. But if it be so, I cannot help it, and all, I think, must grant that I can do nothing of this kind that hath a more natural tendency to draw a persecution on myself; and should it have that effect, who would not say it was the fruit of my own imprudence? And if it should begin, it might probably not end with me, but extend to others, and then how could I answer for it either to God or my Bishop, to whom the care of this Church is committed? And to convince you that it is not humour or obstancy, but a sense of duty and conscience, that keeps me from concurring in this matter, let me beg it of you as a favour that you'll be pleased to lay it before my superior, your Bishop and mine; and I hereby engage readily to acquiesce in whatever he shall determine, be the consequence what it will, and then if I suffer it will be in the road of my duty, and in obedience to him whom I ought to obey; and if the Church suffer damage I will not then be accountable.

Your compliance with this request will add to the many obligations I already lye under to you, and believe me to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most affectionate, very much obliged, and faithful humble servant,

ROBERT KILGOUR.

Peterhead, 9th Febry., 1765.

Strength of Episcopacy.

At this time, in spite of twenty years' penalising, the Episcopalians of Peterhead constituted about one half of the whole community. The population of the town in 1764 was 1266, and in Peterhead and adjacent country parts the "Episcopals" numbered 642. In 1769, when the population was 1518, the Episcopalians numbered 700. Dr Moir, in the Old Statistical Account of Scotland, says that in the years above-mentioned "there were no dissenters from the Estab lished Church but Episcopals"; "that persuasion," he adds, "for a long time was the prevailing mode of religion, and it is still professed by the wealthiest inhabitants of the town." It was ridiculous for such a reputable body of Christian people to be compelled to worship in a corner. They saw, however, the unwisdom of building a new church on the old site, and ground was purchased in a narrow country lane, running from the north of the Broadgate, and subsequently known as "Chapel Lane," and later as "Chapel Wynd" and "Chapel Street." Here a new "House," costing precisely £467 16s 0¾d, was opened in November, 1767. The ground was bought from John Thain, at New Miln of Pitfarnie, for £55 9s 3d, the old site in Broadgate being disposed of to William Seller for £14. There was a sum of £103 in hand from the old chapel funds, and this helped to defray the cost of the new church; while £290 was raised on loan.

Further Difficulties.

Everything promised well; but, alas, there were more breakers ahead. In 1768 Mr Kilgour was elected to the Bishopric of Aberdeen in succession to Bishop Gerard. It was a striking tribute to his ability, high character, and sterling honesty of purpose; incidentally, it demonstrated the sympathy of the clergy with his well-known views on the relations of Church and State. For the Bishop was a confessed non-juror. Pathetically anxious to live at peace with all men, and discouraging by example and precept even the appearance of evil, his conscience would not permit him to swear allegiance to a Royal House which had, as he believed, usurped the place and functions of Scotland's rightful dynasty. In 1770 the incumbent of Lonmay died, and Bishop Kilgour immediately appointed to the benefice a clergyman whose views on the Royal Succession coincided with his own, the Rev. William Sangster (afterwards Dean). The civil authorities were indignant. They regarded the appointment as an unfriendly act, and retaliated by closing, not only the church in Lonmay, but also the chapels in Peterhead and Fraserburgh. The old rash spirit of indiscriminate persecution which punished a man for his politics by striking at his religion, was not dead—only asleep; and on this occasion it showed a fox-like cunning. Its obvious purpose was to drive a wedge into the hitherto solid rock of Episcopacy in Peterhead; and it succeeded only too well. Arguing that the Bishop had made an error

of judgment, the managers of St. Peter's asked him to annul the appointment of Mr Sangster to Lonmay. It was the last thing he would thing of. Then came ominous murmurings of revolt. A rising temper, with difficulty held in leash, is discernible in the following letter to the Bishop:—

"Peterhead, 4th Dec., 1770.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR,

As we are convinced you are sensible of the great hardship and inconveniences it is both to you and us to have our Chappell, so lately built for public worship, shutt up, we doubt not but you will readily concurr with us in any reasonable scheme for getting relief. We can think of no method at present but by a private application. But, as you know, the only reason given for shutting up our Chappell, and also that of Fraserburgh, was the placing Mr Sangster at Lonmay, and as it would be absurd in us to attempt any application or to hope to obtain any success without removing the cause, and, as we apprehend, this is only in your power to execute, and which we hope you will not have the least difficulty in doing, when you consider that as matters stand at present, and likely to continue, the people of Lonmay can reap very little spiritual advantage from Mr Sangster's ministry, who, we hear, is scarce in safety to be seen among them.

Wherefore (we) hope you will agree to removing Mr Sangster from Lonmay altogether, when we are not without hopes, by proper application, to be allowed to open the Chappell, in which case we hope you will have no objections to officiate there as formerly.

As twice before some of our members have

attempted to persuade you to this, and have obtained no direct answer, we now beg you will give us a positive and determined one, which may be directed to Mr William Scott, present treasurer of the Chappell, who will communicate same to us; and we earnestly entreat it may be favourable and that you'll seriously consider (that) a contrary one may be attended with the most pernicious consequences, not only to the members of your own congregation, but to the whole town in general."

The Bishop Stands Firm.

A manager, we suppose, is a man who manages, and the Bishop found the managerial yoke too heavy to be borne. He refused to remove Mr Sangster, broke off all communication with the remonstrants, and intimated that he would minister no more in "that House," as he called the Chapel of St. Peter. The development of this unfortunate dispute is shown in the following minute, dated January 18, 1771:—

"Bishop Kilgour having now given a positive answer refusing to officiate in the Chappell on the terms offered him, We, subscribers, proprietors of the Chappell, and members of the Episcopal congregation of Peterhead, have come to a resolution to make application for a Qualify'd Clergyman to officiate there, and unanimously agree to adhere to him, and to become bound for a stipend of forty-five pounds sterling per annum."

And thus there began a schism which lasted for over forty years. The managers communicated with Dr James Beattie, Pro-

fessor of Logic and Moral Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen. He recommended Mr William Laing, a native of Fraserburgh apparently, who had just completed his Divinity Course at King's College, and was described as "an excellent scholar and a very ingenious young man," with "a generous and compassionate heart" and "pious and Christian" principles. In addition to these excellencies, he had "a considerable knowledge of physicks," had been bred originally in the "Episcopal persuasion," and bore a "strong attachment to the Church of England." This was all very satisfactory; and at the fitting moment an accommodating Irish prelate who was then on tour in Scotland—Dr Traill, Bishop of Down and Connor—gracefully "obliged" the managers by admitting young Laing to Holy Orders. Bishop Kilgour and the majority of his people found sanctuary in a new chapel on the south side of Broad Street, and there he ministered until 1789, when the pastoral care of the congregation was assumed by the Rev. Patrick Torry, his assistant and successor—one who, even in those early years, gave evidence of gifts of mind and character which were destined to raise him to high office and great honour in the Church.

The Seabury Consecration.

The great event in the life of Bishop Kilgour, for which his name will always be held in affectionate remembrance throughout the whole Anglican Communion, was the consecration of Dr Seabury, the first Bishop of the American Episcopal Church. For

political reasons, consequent upon the American War of Independence, the State Church of England, however eager to gratify the praiseworthy aspirations of the Episcopal settlers in the new world, found itself unable to help; and it was the small, obscure, persecuted, struggling Church in Scotland which made the great adventure. Owing to increasing years and infirmity Bishop Kilgour, who had been raised to the Primacy in 1782, committed the negotations to his energetic coadjutor, John Skinner of Aberdeen, son of the patriarch, priest, and poet of Linshart, "Tullochgorum" — *clarum et venerabile nomen!* —but he was consulted on every point, and without his sympathy and co-operation the consecration could never have been effected. In a letter, dated Peterhead, October 2, 1784, he wrote expressing his willingness, and that of his brother bishops, to clothe Dr Seabury with the Episcopal character, "and thereby convey to the western world the blessing of a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy." The ceremony of consecration took place in Skinner's Chapel in Longacre, Aberdeen, on November 14, 1784. It was performed by Kilgour, assisted by Petrie of Moray, and John Skinner, co-adjutor of Aberdeen. The last four verses of Psalm XC., in the old version of Tate and Brady, were sung; and what words could have given finer expression to the past experiences, present hopes, and future expectations of that little company than these?—

"Let happy times with large amends,
Dry up our former tears,
Or equal, at the least, the term
Of our afflicted years.

To all Thy servants, Lord, let this
Thy wondrous work be known;
And to our offspring yet unborn,
Thy glorious power be shown."

From the little seed sown in faith by three humble Scottish prelates, has grown the mighty oak-tree of American Episcopacy. When the men of Buchan recall with pride the noble works of their fathers in the days of old, let them spare a kindly thought for Robert Kilgour.

The Last of the Stuarts.

One of Kilgour's last acts as Primus was to convene an Episcopal Synod in Aberdeen, in April, 1788; and this Synod came to a decision which must have sorely wounded the Jacobite spirit of the venerable Bishop, for it sounded the death-knell of an alliance which was dear, very dear, to his heart. The long identification of Scottish Episcopacy with the fallen House of Stuart did incalculable harm to the Church; but there was something fine in the fidelity with which clergy and people clung to their old allegiance—ill-starred and disastrous in every way, yet chivalrous and romantic to a high degree. The death of Prince Charles Edward at Rome in January, 1788, left the Church free to shape its course anew; and at the Synod in April the Bishops decreed that on and after May 18 of the same year "nominal prayers

for the King" should be "authoritatively introduced," and afterwards continued, "in the religious assemblies of the Episcopal Church." In spite of its obvious wisdom and necessity, this resolution was the reverse of popular in many places, especially in the North. "Well do I remember," wrote an eyewitness, "the day on which the name of George was mentioned in the morning service for the first time: such blowing of noses, such significant hums, such half-suppressed sighs, such smothered groans and universal confusion can hardly be conceived." It was "the end of an auld sang"; and it trembled off in tears.

The Bishop's Death.

Now that the Church was free from political entanglements, it was in a position to agitate, with some prospect of success, for the repeal of the penal statutes. But this was the work of a new generation, and Bishop Kilgour, grown frail and feeble, felt himself unequal to the task. He therefore resigned his Primacy, and John Skinner (who had become Bishop of Aberdeen in 1786) was called as his successor. But the Bishop's evening hour of rest was brief. On March 23, 1790, he died; and he was buried in the Churchyard on the Links, under the shadow of the south chancel wall of the ancient Kirk of Peterhead. The inscription on his tombstone reads: "Sacred to the Memory of the Rt. Revd. Mr Robert Kilgour, Late Bishop of the Diocese of Aberdeen, and Primus of the Scots Episcopal Church. This stone is

erected by his Spouse, Mrs Margaret Arbuthnot. Ob. XXIII. Martii, 1790. Aetat LXXVI. Minist. LII.

Dum colitur Pietas et Amor divinus honesti,
Dum tenet antiquam Scotica terra fidem,
Talem sacra cohors gaudebit dicere patrem,
Laudabit talem sera propago virum."

These lines may be translated thus—

"While Godlike Love of Truth shall have its meed,
While Scotland's folk upholds its ancient creed,
So shall God's army bless their father's name,
His sons in Christ shall love to praise his fame."

Thus ended a long, faithful, and strenuous ministry, and a holy and useful life.

NOTES.

The Rev. Alexander Hepburn.— Mr Hepburn graduated at Aberdeen on July 11, 1676, and at his death in 1737 had attained the good old age of 81 years. He married Eliza Clark, who died September 17, 1703, aged 42 years, and he had two sons, George and William, and three daughters: Anne, who married Andrew Arbuthnot, ship-master, Peterhead, Jean, who married John Duncan, dyer, Peterhead, and Mary, who was apparently unmarried. Mr Hepburn was a man of some literary ability, as is shown by his MS. description of Buchan, part of which was published by Spalding.

Bishop William Dunbar.—Dunbar was in his 85th year at his death. A print in the possession of the present Bishop of Aberdeen says he was buried in the Churchyard of Peterhead. A tablet to his memory, and that of Bishop James Drummond, was unveiled by the Primus, the Most Rev. Dr Robberds, Bishop of Brechin, on August

31, 1911, in the Established Church of Cruden.

THE BROAD STREET CHAPEL. — Bishop Kilgour's new Chapel was situated on the south side of Broad Street, on the site of the present branch office of the Clydesdale Bank. Part of the old building is still standing. It was a property of some size, and the grounds extended back to James Street. After the death of Mrs Kilgour (Margaret Arbuthnot) in 1805, the property passed in succession to her daughter Katharin, wife of William Shivas, who sold it for £560 to John Hutchison, merchant in Peterhead. It now belongs to Mr John Mitchell, fishcurer.

MARGARET ARBUTHNOT— The Bishop's wife was a daughter of Thomas Arbuthnot, Baron Bailie of Peterhead in 1715, and, as has been shown, a perfervid partizan of the Stuarts. Thomas Arbuthnot had five daughters, and they all married keen Jacobites. Margaret herself was an enthusiastic supporter of the exiled House. Her sister Jean (the eldest daughter) married Thomas Arbuthnot, who was the great-great grandfather of the late Mr Edward Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot House, Peterhead, and of the Rev. William Arbuthnot, Vicar of Lea Marston, Birmingham. Baron Bailie Arbuthnot was the eldest surviving son of Nathaniel Arbuthnot, Auchlea, and Kirktown, Longside.

VI—ONE HUNDRED YEARS AND MORE.
Dr Laing, Historian.

Mr Laing proved himself an able and popular divine. Doubtless through the influence of Professor Beattie, he received a degree in medicine from the University of Aberdeen; and as Peterhead in those days was a fashionable health resort—"the Scarborough of Scotland," one inspired writer called it—we may reasonably infer that "the English minister" found the healing of the body more profitable than the cure of souls. He had time to dabble in literature, and in 1793 published "An Account of Peterhead: its Mineral Well, Air, and Neighbourhood." He dedicated the volume to the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital, and, incidentally, gave a glowing certificate of character to his fellow-citizens. "The inhabitants of this town," he wrote, "are taken notice of by strangers as an obliging, decent, sober, industrious set of people." They are "opulent for their respective ranks. Having no expensive follies to gratify, and being industrious and active, they can generally afford all the comforts of a decent, moderate, civilised life. Drunkards, or wasters of any kind, are hardly known"; and "the people are, in general, healthy and virtuous." Moreover, "their artists are admired for ingenuity and dexterity in their professions," and Peterhead has long been in repute for the best bread anywhere to be found, "that of London or Paris not excepted." Can one

wonder at the popularity of such an amiable writer?

Money Matters.

The chapel did fairly well under his ministry, but it had many ups and downs. In Kilgour's time the Sunday offerings amounted to £32 annually, and the seat rents brought in £47. These were the only regular sources of income; and as the church was burdened with a considerable debt, the managers were frequently hard pressed to make ends meet. When the breach occurred in 1771, most of the leading members of the congregation stuck resolutely at their posts. We see this from a Minute of instruction to the treasurer, authorising him to pay Mr Laing a yearly stipend of £50 in quarterly instalments; and this minute is signed by James Arbuthnot, Farquhar Matheson, Thomas Robertson, James Volum, John Gordon, Charles Duncan, James Arbuthnot, Jr., Thomas Arbuthnot, James Soutter, Thomas Arbuthnot, Jr., and James Dalgarno. These men represented the heavy artillery of the Episcopal forces in Peterhead. Nevertheless Bishop Kilgour must have carried off with him a large proportion of the rank and file, for the seat rents immediately dropped to £16 and the Sunday collections to £21. During Dr Laing's ministry the offerings improved slightly, but the income from seat rents remained practically stationary until 1807, when it bounded up to £41. In 1799 the debt on the chapel stood at £540; and then an unexpected stroke of good fortune befel the managers. The historic building

on the Links had been deserted by the Presbyterians in 1771; and a new and elegant church, 78 feet long, 39 feet broad, and costing only £520, was opened on the site now occupied by the Messrs Brown's barrel factory. Dr Moir was charmed with it. "From the position of the pulpit; and the arrangement of the seats . . . it is," he wrote in 1795, "the most convenient place of worship with which I am acquainted." But, alas, it had one defect. It was literally a house built on sand; and a few years after the above glowing certificate of character was written, Dr Moir and his people were compelled to abandon this elegant establishment. Pending the erection of a new kirk on stabler foundations, the doctor and his Session came to an arrangement with the managers of the chapel, whereby the Presbyterian congregation were given the use of the Episcopal Church for their services, in return for an annual payment of £47. This welcome accession of income lasted for several years—until "the Muckle Kirk," opened in 1806, was ready for its people; and the chapel managers were able, not only to reduce the debt to £360, but ultimately to double their minister's stipend! Truly, "It is an ill wind that blows nobody good!"

Position of the "English" Congregations.

During all these years Dr Laing and his people occupied, from the standpoint of Church order and government, a very anomalous position. They were Episcopalians without an Episcopus; Independents really, with a penchant for an ordained ministry

and the English Prayer Book: ecclesiastically they were in a state of schism. In this respect, however, they did not stand alone. A good many congregations throughout the country, and several in Aberdeenshire, were in the same plight. It was the only way Episcopal services could be maintained without infringing the penal enactments. The manner in which the clergy in charge of such congregations had to qualify is shown by the following copy of a document in the possession of St. Peter's Church Vestry;—

"These do certify and attest that Mr William Laing, minister of the Gospel in the Episcopal Chappel in Peterhead, did this day compear in presence of Robert Turner, Esquire, Sheriff Substitute of Aberdeenshire, and duly qualify himself to his Majesty King George the Third, by swearing the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and subscribing the same, together with the assurance, all as on papers and a parchment apart, and that as minister of the Gospel in the said Episcopal Chappel in Peterhead; and the said Mr William Laing did produce his Letters of Orders, which were duly recorded in the Sheriff Court Books of Aberdeen in terms of law. Given at Aberdeen the thirteenth day of June, one thousand and seventy one years, by me Sheriff Clerk depute.

(Sgd.) JOHN CRAIG."

Articles of Union.

Kilgour's successor, Bishop Skinner, set his hand to the good work of steering those rudderless ships into port; and on June 27, 1803, he had the satisfaction of learning that

Dr Laing, in behalf of himself and his congregation, had signed Articles of Union whereby the House in Chapel Street became once more an integral part of the Scottish Episcopal Church. In reply to a letter of congratulation from the Bishop, Dr Laing wrote; "Most heartily do I thank you for your kind congratulation on our union with the ancient Christian Church of our country, and for your good wishes and prayers for our comfort in this measure. Of our ever finding comfort in it, I have no doubt, from the applause of my own mind that grows stronger on reflection, from the great apparent satisfaction of both the congregations in this place, as well as from the expressed approbation of various wise and good persons in other places, and particularly that of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, whose piety and goodness must show his judgment to be highly valuable."

Torry's Successful Work.

For evident reasons the two congregations did not immediately unite. They continued to exist side by side, with growing goodwill and fellowship, until Dr Laing's death in 1812, when the chapel was closed, and the congregation joined hands with that of Bishop Torry. Under Mr Torry's active and singularly able ministry, the church in Broad Street, erected by Bishop Kilgour, had speedily become inadequate for its purposes. In the first year of his pastorate the young divine added over thirty per cent. to the roll of members. Mr Torry had a rare combination of gifts. He was a man of scholarly

mind, a persuasive preacher, a capable organiser, a diligent shepherd of the flock—in one word, a strong, simple, unassuming personality, who won men's hearts as well as their confidence. He was born in the parish of King Edward on December 27, 1763; his father was Thomas Torry, woollen-cloth manufacturer at the Wauk Mill of Garneston, and his mother Jane Watson or Torry, daughter of a farmer at Mains of Balmaud. In the early and formative years of his life the future Bishop came under the strong and direct personal influence of his uncle James Torry, a zealous Jacobite, who had been "out" with his Prince in the "'45." About 1781 young Torry became master of the parish school at Lonmay, and there he formed an intimate friendship with the Episcopal incumbent, the Rev. William Sangster, whose settlement, as we saw in a previous chapter, had such untoward consequences. In 1782 he went to live with John Skinner of Linshart, and the same year he was admitted to the ministry of the Church by Bishop Kilgour, and appointed to the charge of Arradoul in Banffshire.

Preferment, and Progress.

It is unnecessary to make any lengthy reference to Torry's work for the Church in Scotland during his sixty years' ministry. This has been well and eloquently done by Dr J. M. Neale in "The Life and Times of Patrick Torry." The influence he exercised and the esteem in which he was held are sufficiently evidenced by his appointment in 1808 to the Bishopric of Dunkeld; and in this larger

field of action he continued to display, with even more boldness than before, his love for his Church, "and his zeal for the preservation of that which he held dear, above all earthly possessions, her unmutilated Eucharistic Office." When the erecton of a new place of worship became necessary in room of the Broad Street Chapel, the Episcopal Church in Scotland had really no legal title to possess a stick or stone of its own. "We had no *nomen juris*, as a body," wrote the Bishop, in later years, "and consequently could not in that capacity possess any property; nor, if deprived of it, either by fraud or violence, could we have sued at law for its recovery." This made it necessary that the new church should be private property, and Mr Torry took the risk and burden upon himself. The church was erected (1798) in Merchant Street on the site of the present building. It was capable of seating over 500 persons, and cost in all about £850. It had an organ loft and south gallery, and the pulpit was set up in the centre of the north wall. The principal seat holders included William Volum, James Kidd (who had fifteen sittings), Alexander Birnie, James Hutchison, James Arbuthnot, James Skelton, Mrs Dalgarno, Mrs Arbuthnot of Kinmundy.

Erection of Present Church.

The church, though large, was found to be insufficient for the needs of the united congregation. The managers, therefore, purchased the building and grounds from Bishop Torry for £900, and erected in its place the present edifice at a total cost of

£3,496 10s. The organ of the Chapel Street House was transferred to the new building in Merchant Street; and there were also taken over "a folio Bible, a folio Prayer Book, a quarto Prayer Book, two flagons, one cup, tokens and plate for making same." Soon afterwards the church in Chapel Street was sold to the Methodists for £315, and Dr Laing's parsonage was disposed of to Capt. John Birnie for £152 13s 6d. For business purposes the managers of Dr Laing's chapel preserved their separate identity until 1824, when the last meeting of the surviving subscribers was held, and the funds of the old chapel were finally merged in the new. The minute authorising this proceeding was signed by Adam Arbuthnot, James Hutchison, William Volum, Thomas Arbuthnot, George Arbuthnot, and John Gilchrist. This George Arbuthnot was the great-grandson of Baron Bailie Thomas Arbuthnot, who cut such a dashing figure during the Jacobite troubles of 1715-16. George was born in 1775, and was Provost of Peterhead from November 1833, to October 1834. Thomas Arbuthnot, whose name appears among the signatures of the above-mentioned minute, was also a great-grandson of the Baron Bailie, and was Provost of the burgh from 1834 to 1843.

Bishop Torry's Last Days.

The present Church of St. Peter was opened for worship on Christmas Eve, 1814, and here Bishop Torry fulfilled his ministry until his resignation in June 1837. The Vestry put on record the "expression of their affectionate veneration and esteem for the pro-

fessional character and private worth of their revered pastor and Bishop, who had now officiated amongst them for nearly fifty years"; and they asked his acceptance of a piece of silver plate "as a symbol of their sentiments." But though he had resigned the duties of his charge, Bishop Torry remained at the head of the Diocese of St. Andrews; and notwithstanding his growing years and infirmity, continued to exercise an almost dominating influence in the general councils of the Church. He fought the battle of the Scottish Commuion Office well-nigh single-handed; and there can be little doubt that but for his courage and resolution, this beautiful Liturgy—the fairest jewel in the Church's crown — would have been abandoned in favour of the service in the English Book of Common Prayer. One of the greatest joys of his life was the erection and consecration of St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth—with the exception of St. Paul's, the first Cathedral in the British Isles to be consecrated since the Reformation. On October 3, 1852, in his house at the corner of St. Peter Street and York Street the good old man breathed his last, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, and the seventy-first year of his ministry. His body was removed to Perth, and buried in the Choir of his Cathedral; the funeral sermon being preached by Dr Pratt of Cruden, one of his oldest and dearest friends.

The Rev. Gilbert Rorison.

Bishop Torry's successor was the Rev. Charles Cole, who came with high recom-

mendations from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and held the incumbency until 1845, when he was appointed to St. John's, Greenock. He was succeeded by the Rev. Gilbert Rorison, who subsequently received the degree of LL.D. from his Alma Mater, the University of Glasgow, and who distingusished himself for his writings on ecclesiastical, theological, and scientific questions. Dr Rorison was a man of brilliant parts. He was born in Glasgow in 1821, entered the University in his fifteenth or sixteenth year, and was ordained in 1843 for the curacy of St. James', Leith, the incumbent of which was Bishop Russell (Editor of Keith). Young Rorison was no plodder. "The calm problems of exact science" left him cold; what appealed to his singularly fresh and impressionable mind were the burning questions of the hour — literary, theological, ecclesiastical, he turned with avidity to them all. It was a characteristic he never lost: indeed, it was one of his distinctive charms. He was a breezy, buoyant, invigorating personality, and he possessed the rare and priceless gift of winning friends —and keeping them. "E'en his failings leaned to virtue's side." His people gave many practical evidences of their affection for him, though he never concealed the fact that his heart was in the South; and had he been able to carry off his congregation on his back either to the Lowlands of Scotland, or even across the Border, he would have been the happiest man alive. He was a voluminous writer to the ecclesiastical journals and monthly reviews, and his books

included a "Harmony of the Gospels"; a series of "Lectures on the Evidence and Use of Christian Miracles"; and "The Three Barriers: Notes on Darwin's Origin of Species," in which he not only attempted to controvert and destroy Darwin's theory, but strove bravely, if somewhat rashly, to set up a counter theory of his own. To-day his books are forgotten; but in the hymnal of every Christian Church his name is associated with that gem of sacred song, "Three in One, and One in Three," which was written and first sung in Peterhead. During his incumbency seat rents were abolished, and a system of voluntary contributions was established in its stead; a small but beautiful apse was added to the church; a Torry Memorial Window was subscribed for and erected; and the last penny of the debt on the fabric was extinguished. This enabled the church to be consecrated, and on August 2, 1857, the service of consecration was performed by Bishop Suther in presence of a large and representative congregation. It will thus be seen that Dr Rorison, despite his extensive interest in general and controversial questions, did really good work in Peterhead; and in doing it he was supported with fine loyalty by a large body of remarkably able and influential citizens. Dr Rorison died at Bridge of Allan on October 11, 1869. He is commemorated by two brass standard lights in the sanctuary of the church, and a few years ago a tablet to his memory was set up on the north wall of St Peter's by his son Vincent, the late Dean of St Andrew's. But

no stone marks his resting-place in the Kirkyard of Peterhead.

There followed him in succession the Rev. Dr J. Parry Winder (1870), the Rev. Morgan Morgan (1870-89), the Rev. J. W. Burton (1889-93), the Rev. George Barron Walker (1893-1902), the Rev. C. B. Beard (1902-05), the Rev. L. O. Critchley (1905-08), and the present Rector, instituted in September, 1908. In Mr Beard's time the church was partially reconstructed and renovated, and a new organ introduced, at a total cost of £1,400.

VII. KIRK SESSION DOINGS.

A Question of Morals.

The Kirk Session Minutes of Peterhead two hundred years ago throw a lurid sidelight on the morals of the community at that period of stress and storm. The volume before us is a yellow, tattered, time-worn tome, its edges badly frayed, its contents often indecipherable. It reminds one of a venerable, patriarchal-looking person who would seem at first sight to be the very incarnation of propriety, but who, when he opens his mouth to speak, reveals a naughty, if not a nasty, mind. We take up the book with reverence, and begin to read. Here at the commencement is a text—Romans VIII., 24, 25, "For we are saved by hope." Excellent! It is evident that our forefathers were men of exemplary piety. Let us dip deeper into the holy well. "This day compeared John H— and Janet G— on a charge of"— Stop! The spring is already polluted. For "John H—" and "Janet G—" have been guilty of grievous sin, and their offence is, we are shocked to learn, pitifully common. Here it is in black and white, set down in plain, unvarnished language, with no delicate circumlocution or polite periphrasing. The "minister and elders" called a spade a spade; and this old Minute Book does not make nice family reading after all.

But to the antiquarian and student of human nature the volume is intensely interesting. It exhibits with indelicate candour the manners and customs of a ruder age, and it tempts one to draw more or less useless comparisons between the morals of Yesterday and To-day. Are we better and cleaner and decenter people than our fathers were? True, the Peterhead of those days was a tiny place, with a population of about one hundred souls; but the Kirk Session had to deal not only with the village, but with the whole parish, and had thus the oversight of a considerable seafaring and agricultural community. Nothing escaped the vigilance of those chosen instruments of righteousness. Their lynx-like eyes ferreted out the very secrets of the soul, and woe betide the unlucky men or women whose consciences were stricken with some hidden and unforgiven sin. They might, poor souls, hope to conceal it from a far-off Providence, but they could not hide it for ever from the Kirk Session of Peterhead. So every thread of scandal, actual and prospective, was laid bare; and Sunday after Sunday the public place of repentance was occupied by sackcloth-robed parishoners who had been wicked enough to sin, and, as the cynic would say, stupid enough to be found out. It is a black and shocking record; but things really look worse than they were, for many of those offenders were hopeless recidivists, and the same cases were continued Sunday after Sunday almost ad infinitum;

some, indeed, went on for years. We are, of course, very superior persons in this twentieth century; but how would it fare with us if the rigorous, vigorous, and microscopic methods of those old days were revived? With no wish to be either censorious or flippant, we think there would be a large business in "cutty stools."

A Missing Register.

A few extracts will show the keenness and assiduity of the Session in these matters, and in others of perhaps greater moment. Early in 1674 we find the elders concerned about the non-delivery of the Session Records by the late clerk, Mr Alexander Howard; but the page containing particulars of the case is so badly torn that it is impossible to tell what was done. Alexander Howard was probably a Presbyterian, who, like Mr Nathaniel Martin, had conscientious convictions against allowing Presbyterian minutes to fall into Episcopal hands. Indeed, neither side had scruples about the summary impounding of such precious documents. One Synod of the Church, in 1664, sorrowed exceedingly because many clergy "whose churches are provided already [with competent stipends] cannot know the quantum of their provisions, in respect the late ministers had taken away with them the decreets of the locality and will not deliver them" to their proper owners. In any case, the Peterhead book disappeared; and if by happy chance it has survived the centuries, it may now be returned without fear of diligence against its possessors.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1674 — John Johnson is ordered to confess publicly in church that he had been guilty of the sin and scandal of breaking the Sabbath by "flaying a horse" by the roadside on Sunday, and Andrew Wood was admonished for the same offence.

FEBRUARY 7, 1675.—Here we see how an "infamous woman" who had become a fugitive from discipline is dealt with. "The officer reports that he had not found Margaret F— within the parish, and yet (she) is reported now and then to be in the parish. The Session thinks good that the minister the next Sabbath shall prohibit from the pulpit any house to receive or lodge her within the parish under pain of being processed." This poor creature had previously been found in the neighbourhood "almost starved and naked," and it would appear that some good people had been wicked enough to harbour her. It is to be hoped the fear of "being processed" did not induce them to forget the "Inasmuch" of One who was greater even than the "minister and elders" of Peterhead.

AUG. 22, 1675. — "A pair of joggs" is ordered for the church door. The "joggs" or "jougs" were iron collars which were put round the necks of offenders. Only the most hardened sinners, however, were punished in this way.

Militant Women and a Magdalene.

NOV. 19, 1675. — Majorie B— and Elpsie K— confessed to fighting on the Sabbath

day, and were ordained to make public profession of repentance.

JUNE 3, 1676.— The minister reports that Margaret C—, being summoned to compear before the Presbytery, "compeared in the habit of sackcloth as an adultress, confessing her guiltiness, and was referred back to the Session." She, being summoned, and this day called, compeared in the habit, and was enjoyned and ordained to enter the profession of her repentance by standing at the church door before the sermon, and at the pillar in time of sermon the next Sabbath, and to so continue till signs of repentance and grief and sorrow for her sin be given. The "pillar" was the local substitute for the stool of penance. It was evidently well raised above the floor level, for we read later of an application by one of the parishioners for leave "to remove his seat from under the pillar." Poor Margaret had to do a long penance. She was not absolved until March 3, 1677.

FEB. 2, 1678.—This day Christon G— according to ordinance appeared before the pulpit, in face of the congregation, acknowledging her guiltiness, asking God and the congregation's forgiveness, and was absolved.

A Helping Hand.

JULY 14, 1678. — Intimation by Order of Council of a collection on the following Sabbath for a new harbour at Haymouth. (Amount collected, £6 5s 4d Scots). This was the Privy Council's way of raising funds

for the commercial development of the country. There are other intimations of a similar kind, one for a harbour at Portsoy.

SEP. 1, 1678—Meeting called to consider the "reparation of the steeple, at present ruinious." It was thought fit that some hasty means be taken for repairing it, lest the steeple and bell should fall. "Though several persons are deficient in paying in their proportions for repairing the kirk, yet not to suffer it to be ruinous," Gilbert Young, treasurer, was ordered to furnish timber, and he, with the minister and Bailey Hay, was desired to agree with some workmen to effect the necessary repairs.

A Pertinacious Session.

OCT, 12, 1679.—There are many instances of the persistence with which the Session followed up cases of discipline from one parish to another. Here is an example. "The Session Clerk, Mr James Keith, declared his industry in searching after Alex. C——, fugitive from our discipline, by writing to Mr John Hamilton, minister at Leith, desiring him to inform himself if the said Alex. were within the bounds of his charge." The next news of Alexander was received on January 4, when the Sesson was informed of a rumour that he was in the parish of Abervarny; and Mr John Drumond, the minister of the said parish, was to be advised not to permit the fugitive to linger within his bounds, lest the land should be defiled. On March 11, 1680, it was reported that Alex. had gone out of Scotland for Virginia; and

as Virginia was beyond the Session's jurisdiction, the case was heard of no more.

FEB. 15, 1680.—Intimation of a Fast for "begging the Almighty Jehovah to bless the seed sown and to be sown, and that the Lord would crown the year with his goodness, and make the skies drop fatness."

Irreverence in Church.

MAY 16, 1680.—It is to be feared there was a sad lack of reverence for the House of God. There was constant heart-burning about seats and desks, and sometimes the slumbering animosities sprang suddenly into life, and found vent in open violence. On the above date William P—was convicted of using "reproachful words" in church during the time of divine service, against Margaret F—, "calling her a quean and jade"; and John G— was proved to have pulled Alexander A— out of his desk in kirk, before the ringing of the second bell. Both John G— and Alex. A— had to pay the penalty of their misdeeds—John appearing on his knees before the congregation, and Alex. taking his stand on the "pillar of repentance."

JUNE 20, 1681.—Meeting of heritors of the parish and bailies of the town to arrange for the "re-edification of the churchyard dykes." The work was carefully allocated between the town and "each plough" in the parish—so many parts to each.

A Matrimonial Mixture.

SEP. 18, 1681.—"Alexander S— and Janet D— were called to compear before the Session for their unorderly marriage, by com-

ing to the Church on Thursday last when the minister was marrying other persons." They had "joyned hands together in a disorderly manner, and proclaimed themselves married persons, without the proclamation of same in the Church." This frisky or economical couple did not answer the summons of the Session, and were referred to the Presbytery. On Oct. 2 they made a public confession of their unorderliness, and were "publicly married according to order."

NOV. 20, 1681.—Elders appointed. The following names were read from the pulpit, and, no one objecting, the persons referred to were elected. For the town of Peterhead, John Young, Alex. Frazer, and George Ogston; and for the country part of the parish, Robert Arbuthnot in Whitehill, and Gilbert Boggy in Invernetty.

DEC. 11, 1682. — A discipline case from Boddam. This village gave the Session some trouble from time to time.

JAN. 15, 1682.—A woman named Margaret G— appeared "of her own accord" and made confession of a sin committed eighteen months before. "Through remorse of conscience" she asked leave to enter her repentance. She was ordained to pay a penalty of four merks. But her alleged partner in guilt denied the charge, and Margaret had to stand the pillar for slandering her neighbour.

The Oath of Purgation.

MARCH 22, 1682.—If a person accused of complicity in wrong-doing denied the charge,

and was willing to substantiate his denial with the Oath of Purgation, taken before the congregation, no further process could be laid against him. The minute of above date reads: "The said day the minister declared from the pulpit that it was the Presbytery's desire that Andrew M—'s oath should be taken before the congregation. Accordingly it was taken The tenor whereof followeth:—

'I, Andrew M—, do swear by the Eternal God that I never (here the nature of the alleged offence is stated) . . . and I pray God that all the promises which are written from the First Genesis to the last of Revelation may be denied to me, and that all the plagues and judgments which are read in the same Word may be inflicted upon me in soul and body in this life and the life which is to come if ever I (here the nature of the alleged offence is repeated). So help me God.'"

"Your Assured Friend."

AUG. 31, 1682. — More disputes about desks, and the following letter from the Earl Marischal — "I am informed Wm. Seaton's tenants have at their own hands taken down Andrew Hay's desk, which he placed by order of the Kirk Session. Wherefore I desire ye will go and get that desk placed where it was before; and if any offer to meddle with it, leave them till I take a course with them. But I regret how the Kirk Session keep not their key better. This is all at present from

your assured friend,
Marischal.

Inverugie, 28th Aug. 1682."

The above-mentioned Andrew Hay was one of the magistrates of Peterhead. The "assured friend" was William, the 9th Earl, a man of great courage and vivacity, with a soul capable of big things, but no seriousness of purpose. He died in 1712.

AUG. 26, 1683.—John C— was delated for breach of the Sabbath by striking his wife. If John had waited until Monday, would there have been any case against him?

NOV. 30, 1694. — William Arbuthnot in Invernetty, and Robert Arbuthnot in Whitehill, his brother, both gave in a supplication to the Session for erecting a desk at the west end of the church, on the south side of the wall above the door that comes in to the common loft, at the back of Clerkhill's desk.

The Church Accounts.

JAN. 11, 1685.—This day it was taken into consideration by the minister and members of the Session, that the accounts of Gilbert Young, treasurer, had not been sighted for several years before the entry of the present minister. Therefore Andrew Hay, Bailie Robert Arbuthnot, James Gordon, James Body, and George Ogston, were ordained to sight the accounts. They duly discharged this duty, and it was reported that the said Gilbert had been most faithful and exact. The treasurer was desired to use all diligence against those who had not paid their penalties.

FEB. 1, 1685.—Mr James Keith, Schoolmaster, Reader, and Session clerk, having got a call to be chaplain to the Earl Marischal, demitted his charge.

MARCH 8, 1685. — In respect that many within the town and parish complain for want of accommodation in the church, a meeting of heritors, tenants, and feuars, was convened; and it was intimated that the Earl Marischal would attend. (This meeting was duly held, and the Earl Marischal issued a long interlocutor "ordaining and determining" a complete apportionment of the seatings in the church).

"Divots" for the School.

AUG. 26, 1685. — The minister made intimation from the pulpit that "ilk plough in the parish should bring half a hundred divotts for divotting the schoole."

SEPT. 20, 1685.—A collection intimated for Mr Alexander C—, paralytic.

APRIL 19, 1685. — Alexander M— and Marjory G— were delated for cursing and swearing, and beating one another in their drunkenness. It was deponed that Marjory had sworn "by no less oath than the Wounds of Christ."

The Kirk Dyke.

MAY 10, 1686.—"The Session considering the kirk dyke to be very ruinous, and the schoole house also, did ordain that intimation should be made from the pulpit the next Lord's Day to every plough in the parish to repaire their own proportione of both, according to old use and custome."

MARCH 13, 1687.—Compeared all the seamen in Boddam, and confessed their going to sea upon the Fast day. They were en-

joyned to confess their fault publicly, and to promise to abstain from the like for the future. The same day three persons were delated for "struggling, flyting, and scolding one another in the church." This sort of thing was very common in Scotland. People would saunter into church with their hats on, nod cheerily to their friends, chat affably with their neighbours, and quarrel openly perhaps with their enemies. In 1709 the General Assembly recommended "to persons of all ranks that they would forbear bowing, and other expressions of civil respect, and entertaining one another with discourses while divine worship is perfoming and holy ordinance are dispensing."

MAY 15, 1687.—It was statute and ordained in Session "that no person shall uplift their marriage consignationes until three quarters expire," and publication of this Act was ordered to be made. (Consignationes were the sums paid by parties purposing a contract of marriage, and the money had hitherto been returned at or soon after the nuptial ceremony. In view of the number of married people disciplined by the Session, the reason for this new rule is fairly obvious).

A Parsimonious People.

AUG. 7, 1678.—"The minister is found to have reproved in publick the uncharitableness of many that give nothing to our charity collections, and exhorted them to be more charitable." It was reported that a meeting had been held in the Tolbooth of Peterhead to consider the Act of Parliament against sturdy beggars.

JULY 1, 1688. — "The said day it being found that many boys and women stay about the shoare in time of divine service, about their play and pulling dilse, therefore searchers were appointed for discovering the said persons, and intimation to be made hereoff from the pulpit next Sabbath." The same day "the elders and other persons complaining that the sermon was too long in beginning on the Lord's Day, therefore it was statute and ordained that it shall begin about eleven o'clock in time coming precisely."

Desecrating the Sunday.

SEPT. 12, 1689. — Compeared Elspet F— and "confessed her spinning on the Sabbath day, but pretended it was out of ignorance, that living in a house alone she knew not that it was the Sabbath Day." Elspet was ordained to appear in publick before the pulpit the next Lord's Day to confess her sin, and "for removing the scandal given"

NOV. 29, 1691.—Two countrymen confessed "shearing and leading roens on the Sabbath Day." They were ordered to appear before the pulpit the next Lord's Day.

SEPT. 9, 1694. — This day "no delations, but only mett to consider our poor."

The Decline of Public Penance.

And here we may fittingly leave off the somewhat trying task of transcribing the records of a time when "the rude forefathers of the hamlet" were more amenable to ecclesiastical authority than their successors are to-day. Whatever changes were effected

by the rise and fall of churches, the autocracy of the Session remained; and joug and pillar, stile and cutty stool, were less easy to disestablish than the Kirks. In Peterhead when public penance ceased all offenders were dealt with in private, and on confessing their fault, and paying a penalty—usually thirty shillings—were absolved. Those penalties swelled the poor fund, and so wickedness in its shameful sackcloth befriended poverty in its honourable rags. The ordinary parochial income was derived from the collections taken at the "stiles" and, on Communion Sundays, at the Tables. There were two "stiles," or narrow entrances to the kirkyard, one at the east and the other at the west; and as every churchgoer had to pass through one of these wicket gates, few persons had the hardihood to ignore the plate, though too often the quality of their offerings would not bear inspection. In stormy weather the collections were taken in church. The total income from this and other sources for the year 1684 may be found interesting:—

Collected by Andrew Ritchie, from January 6 to February 3	£6 14 10
Collected by George Davidson at the east style and Wm. Mitchell at the west stile from Feb. 3, to March 2	6 13 6
Collected by George Ogston at the east stile and Robert Arbuthnot at the west stile from March 2 to March 30	10 16 2
Collected by Mitchell Mill and John Boggy from March 30 to April 27	8 9 4

Gotten at Andrew Presslie's marriage	0	4	0
From April 27 to May 25 by James Gordon and Gilbert Young for the monthly collections, preparation, fast, and Communion Days, with the amount collected at the Tables	80	0	0
Gotten at a marriage	0	5	6
Collected by James Body and Gilbert Boggy, from May 25 to June 22	14	11	0
Collected by Bailyie Smith and Gilb. Robb from June 22 to July 20	12	4	2
Collected by Bailyie Hay and Wm. Mitchell from July 20 to Aug. 17	15	1	10
Collected by George Davidson and John Boggy from Aug. 17 to Sept. 14	9	3	6
Collected by John Young and John Walker from Sept. 14 to Oct. 12	11	13	4
Gotten at John Yeatts' marriage ...	0	6	0
Collected by Andrew Ritchie and James Vollum from Oct. 12 to Nov. 9	5	13	
Collected by Alex. Fraser and Gilb. Boggy from Nov. 9 to Dec. 7 ...	84	1	0
Collected by George Ogston and Gilbert Robb from Dec. 7 to Jan. 4	15	3	0
	£231	0	10

This was really very generous giving for those days, and shows that the church was flourishing under Mr Barclay's ministry. But there was a fly in the ointment. The amount of bad money palmed off on the church by the kirk-going Christians of Peterhead was reprehensible in the extreme. The false tender was collected and sold to the

coppersmith. The Kirk Session of Cruden, with a humour we can relish, ordered its base coin to be melted down to make cups "for collecting the poor money at the Sacrament." A small income was derived, as would be noted above, from marriage fees, from the sale of mort-cloths, and from the impounding of "consignations"; but the church was sometimes the loser on loans to parishioners, for the Kirk Session was not merely the custodian of public morals—it was pawnbroker and money-lender as well. There are several examples of this in the old records of Peterhead.

Helping the Needy.

Moreover, the church is, and always has been, the poor man's friend; and in those far off times it discharged with sympathetic care the duties of relieving officer and public almoner. The Kirk Session did not, after all, expend its entire energies in futile endeavours to shame wrong-doers into righteousness. It made regular disbursements to necessitous parishioners, and not to the parishioners only but to strangers within the gates. In 1692 a sum of £30 was distributed to the poor of the parish; a constant charge against this account was an annual sum of 12/- to William Porter, Kirk Officer, "for his shoes and fees." In many places the officer had taxed recipients with a commission of one penny on every dole; but this was felt to be a hardship, and the agent of the Session, being forbidden to mulct the poor, was requited for his trouble

and recompensed for the wear and tear of shoe-leather with a small annual gratuity. In 1735 we find that "John Shaw in Crathy, converted from Popery," was sent rejoicing on his way with a gift of £3 Scots; the same year £1 10s was expended on a coffin for Isobel Milne; and a sum of money was voted regularly for the maintenance of some fatherless bairns. There is a curious entry in 1736: "Given for repairing the churchyard dykes, till it shall be recovered from those who are due for their reparation, £9 14s 2d." One gathers from this and sundry other items ranging over a long period of years that the heritors were loth to part with the siller. Next year £3 was voted to "a poor woman in Ellon who had three children at one birth," while Alexander Garioch, "distrest with fever and ague," was comforted with a gift of £2. James Morrison received 14/- for "a barrow for a cripple man"; Janet Smith's winding sheet cost £1 12s; and 15/- was spent on ten pints of ale at this good woman's burying! "A minister's son" was given 12/-, and "six ship-wreckt seamen, rob'd by the pirates," benefited to the extent of £2 11s. Two items in 1739 are notable — the "sale of the old Bible belonging to the Kirk" for £1 16s, and the purchase of a new copy of the Scriptures for £19. In 1744 Peter Mutch was paid £3 10/- "for making the sacramental tokens," and three years later repairs to the latron cost £2 8s. The Session Clerk and Schoolmaster received a salary of £33 6s 8d Scots, payable half yearly; and the officer's fee now amounted to £9 4s, which shows that

he was a much more important person than his predecessor in the Episcopal period. The money to meet all these charges was derived from collections, penalties, interest on loans, etc. The annual income from all sources varied, but the minister and elders were careful to ensure that the sum of the yearly expenditure just about equalled the total revenue, with a leaning to the safe side. In course of time the Session managed to build up a considerable reserve. In 1734 it had a credit balance of £334 Scots; in 1756 the surplus had more than doubled.

VIII.—LOOSE LEAVES.

Psalms and Hymns.

Under Dr Rorison's incumbency, Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms was used at St. Peter's. In 1850 there was published by Mr William L. Taylor, Peterhead, a book of "Hymns adapted to the Church Services throughout the Christian Year, with a Selection of Metrical Psalms." This little work, compiled by Dr Rorison, reached its third edition in 1865, and was for many years the Hymn Book of St. Peter's Church. In contained 200 hymns, and the learned editor gleaned from a wide field. Ambrose and Toplady, Prudentius and Keble, Thomas Aquinas and Charles Wesley, Butler, Heber, Ken, Watts, and Doddridge, with many others, are represented in his pages; and Dr Rorison's own beautiful translation, "Three in One and One in Three" found a place among the Hymns to the Holy Trinity. The book was displaced in Mr Morgan's time, when "Hymns Ancient and Modern" was introduced; and this excellent and varied collection has been in use ever since.

Reading the Hymns.

We are all acquainted with the old Scots custom—borrowed from English Puritanism?—of reading each line or verse of a psalm before the congregation were asked to sing it. In Peterhead this practise was extensively

improved upon, for the entire hymn was read! In 1863 a congregational meeting objected to its continuance, and "respectfully stated their opinion" that the hymns after the Litany and sermon might very well be dispensed with, and "the others considerably shortened." The tendency now is all the other way. Congregations have a perfect mania for hymns; and when they want anything shortened they hit upon the sermon. This explains the constitutional melancholy of the clergy!

The Surplice.

The surplice was not used in the north of Scotland until the early years of the nineteenth century. Bishop William Skinner is said to have been the first to re-introduce it in 1801. Bishop Torry at Peterhead never wore the surplice. When performing Episcopal acts he assumed the lawn sleeves; at other times he wore the black gown, bands, and cassock. Dr Rorison vested in the surplice for the Communion Service and Choir Offices, and for many years exchanged the white robe for the black gown before entering the pulpit. Latterly he abandoned this custom, and used a surplice when preaching. The Rev. Morgan Morgan introduced a surpliced choir. A congregational meeting was held to consider the matter, and the Bishop, who presided, invited the people to decide. There were only one or two objectors at the time; but a few dissatisfied persons found fault with the innovation as "ritualistic," and quitted the

fellowship of the Church. At this period the choir was for the first time accommodated within the chancel.

A Scotsman Wanted.

On August 8, 1889, the Special Vestry decided "that the person to be appointed incumbent of St Peter's Churh be of Scottish birth, and in Scottish Orders." This motion was moved by Mr R. J. Kidd, seconded by Mr Boyd, and carried unanimously.

The Duties of Incumbent.

In the handwriting of Bishop William Skinner, is the following note to the Special Vestry during one of the vacancies: — "It will be necessary, before engaging a clergyman, to acquaint him what duty will be required of him during his incumbency, and which will *at least* be absolutely necessary— viz.: Two full services every Sunday, and the same on Good Friday and Christmas Day; also one sermon on New Year's Day and Ash-Wednesday, together with prayers every Saint's Day as usual. It is likewise to be fully understood that he is to superintend and to foster the Sunday School every Lord's Day as at present, commencing as usual with prayer. It is also expected that he will visit his people, especially those who are sick and infirm, which he will no doubt be happy to do." The Bishop adds: "If any respectable person in whom Mr——— (one of the candidates) has confidence, would have the goodness to suggest to him the propriety of reading the service, especially the Lord's

Prayer and the Belief, rather more deliberately, and to give out the text twice distinctly, it would be of great benefit to the congregation, many of whom have much difficulty of hearing him when in the pulpit." It will be observed that the Bishop insisted only on "two full services"—that is, Morning and Evening Prayer—every Sunday. The advance made since those days is seen in the fact that, under the new Code of Canons, Holy Communion is to be celebrated in all congregations (where the Bishop considers it to be reasonably practicable) "at least on every Lord's Day, and on the Greater Festivals." Up to the close of Mr Cole's ministry there were only five celebrations of the Holy Communion in the year — in the autumn, and on Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter, and Whitsunday. Dr Rorison introduced monthly communions, and Mr Morgan instituted the weekly celebration of the Sacred Mysteries. The following are the figures for 1818:—

Pentecost, 202 com.	...	...	...	£10 10 9
Autumn, 90 com.	...	...	...	4 13 8
Christmas, 190 com.	...	...	...	11 7 4
Good Friday, 104 com.	...	...	...	4 6 10½
Easter Day, 250 com.	...	...	...	7 11 0
				£38 9 7½

In 1831 there were 350 communicants on Easter Day. At the present time the communicant roll of S. Peter's Church contains over 500 names.

Non-Church-Going.

People write and speak to-day as if this were a new evil. On the contrary, it is as old as the Church itself. There always have been non-churchgoers, and there always will be. In a manuscript sermon in our possession preached in the Episcopal "Meeting-house" in 1734 (probably by Mr Hepburn) the neglect of Church ordinance is dilated upon in terms that would make a modern congregation wriggle in their pews. Bishop Torry's successor, the Rev. Charles Cole, was eloquent on the same subject; but his exhortation was more polished and less effective. A peculiarity of the people in this part of Scotland is that though some of them may seldom cross the threshold of their own church, they would never dream of attending services elsewhere. "They're grand Church-folk," said a friend to the writer, speaking of the people in a certain part, "staunch and true, but they never come to church"!

In Festive Mood.

There were no such frivolous functions as congregational social gatherings in the old days; but our forefathers loved a dinner. In February, 1839, they made the anniversary of Mr Cole's institution an excuse for a round table conference on festive lines, and the Vestry entered into the spirit of the thing with great enthusiasm. "It was unanimously agreed that Mr George Arbuthnot be Chairman at the dinner, and Mr George Mudie, Croupier; that the dinner be held on

Tuesday, the 13th inst., at 4 o'clock in the New Inn. It was also resolved that invitations to the dinner be sent to Bishop Torry and Mr Cole by the Chairman; and Mr Munro (mine host) being called up, agreed to furnish dinner, drams, malt liquor, and servants, for 5/- each, which includes the guests that are invited; it being understood that on the removal of the cloth, gentlemen are to call and pay for what they chuse." Thirty-six members of the congregation attended the dinner, and it was such a success that the Vestry unanimously resolved to make it an annual affair. Shrove Tuesday was fixed upon as a suitable date for this feast of reason and flow of soul.

"Serenely full, the Epicure would say,
Fate cannot harm me—I have dined to-day."

The New Inn.

The New Inn mentioned above was situated at the foot of Jamaica Street, fronting the Bay, and in immediate proximity to the far-famed Mineral Well. It was the fashionable "Change House" for many years; the resort of "ladies and gentlemen of all ranks and titles, senators, judges, philosophers, military officers, clergy, merchants," not to mention "the flower of the Scottish nobility." The "Book of Buchan" says the famous Duchess of Gordon held court here. "Within quite recent years there were people living in Peterhead who remembered seeing her lodging at the New Inn. One of the windows of the old pump room still keeps, it is said, an original pane of glass with the

names of the belles and reigning toasts of successive seasons scratched on it by diamond rings." The Inn was built by one of the Earls of Erroll, and contained twenty-two bedrooms. Its glory has long departed. Now it is let out in tenement dwelling-houses.

Peter Buchan's Tribute to Bishop Torry.

Peter Buchan, in his "Annals of Peterhead," pays graceful tribute to Bishop Torry, by applying to him the poet Goldsmith's lines—

> Unskilful he to fawn, or seek for power,
> By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour:
> Far other aims his heart has learned to prize,
> More bent to raise the wretched, than to rise.

There could be no better example of apt quotation; it is one of the finest characterisations of the Bishop we have seen.

A Congregational Census.

In October, 1837, the last year of Bishop Torry's active ministry, a census of the congregation was taken. The town was divided into four parts, with two members of Vestry in charge of each district; and a thorough house-to-house visitation of the parish was effected. The report was:—

South-west district (Messrs Bruce & Yule) ...	381
South-east district Messrs Howie & Mitchell)	189
North-west district (Messrs Sims & Mitchell)	383
North-east (Messrs Millar & Sellar)	133
Country	82
	1168

The population at this time was between five and six thousand.

The Scottish Communion Office.

The Scottish Communion Office has always been used in the present Church, excepting at ordinations. The attitude of the congregation is shown in a resolution passed at a meeting of the Special Vestry held on January 22, 1870, soon after Dr Rorison's death. It was moved by Mr W. Boyd, seconded by Mr Alexander Jamieson, and unanimously agreed that no person "shall be eligible to be elected to the office of incumbent" unless he "shall give the Vestry an undertaking in writing that he will maintain to the utmost of his power the exclusive use" of the Scottish Communion Office, unless and until four-fifths of the male communicant shall, without solicitation by the clergyman, resolve in writing "that the said undertaking shall be discharged."

The Blessing on Communicants.

Until comparatively recent times, it was the custom in Peterhead and in other parts of Aberdeenshire for each railful of communicants to remain before the Altar kneeling, until all had received the Blessed Sacrament, and then return to their places in a body. Before leaving the Altar rails they waited for the dismissal: "Go from the Table of the Lord in peace, and the God of love and peace be with you." Some of the older members of St. Peter's affectionately recall this beautiful custom, which fell into disuetude in the time of Mr Morgan. Mr F. C. Eeles says that in some parts of Aberdeenshire, women used to bring a clean handker-

chief,and spread it over the left hand, placing the right hand upon it when receiving. We have seen (but very rarely) aged persons lay a snow-white handkerchief over the Altar rails when they knelt for the Holy Sacrament. Persons interested in these points should consult "Traditional Ceremonial and Customs connected with the Scottish Liturgy," by Mr F. C. Eeles, and published by the Alcuin Club.

Help for Peterhead.

At the Synod of Aberdeen on April 22, 1658, a supplication was received from the Burgh of Peterhead for "a charitable contribution" to help the town to re-erect the bulwark of the south and north harbours, which had been "utterly demolished by the extraordinary storm in December, 1655." The Synod recommended this object to "the several ministers, barons, commons, and others," and urged that the ministers of the province "should deal effectually" with the application. There were no Treasury grants to be angled for in those days; and when communities got into dfficulties or had some big enterprise in hand they just calmly invited their neighbours kindly to pass round the plate. It was a soundly Scriptural policy, and, on the whole, effective. We have been unable to discover the nature of Fraserburgh's response to the application of 1658.

Offerings in Church.

Church offerings in the old days and the stipends of the clergy seem small in our eyes; but it should be remembered that the

good folks of Scotland in those far-off times were universally poorer than their descendants are to-day. Their wants, of course, were fewer: they lived more simply: and the purchasing power of money was greater than it is in this year of grace and steadily increasing taxation. Moreover, the people had never been taught to give, and they lived and died in blissful unconsciousness of the multitudinous "schemes" that now daily assail the pockets of the faithful. The heritors maintained the fabric of the kirk; the endowments supplied the stipend; the collections relieved the necessities of the poor. It was all so beautifully simple. We have it on the authority of Dr Moir that in his predecessor's time the ordinary collections every Lord's Day were from 7/- to 8/-, but in 1795 they had risen to 18/- or £1.

The Population of Peterhead.

A note appended to a manuscript volume of statistics relating to population, etc., in Peterhead, and signed by George Moir, Minister, and A. Adamson, Session Clerk, says: "By an account, taken by Dr Moir, Minister of Peterhead, in the year 1800, the number of inhabitants in the town of Peterhead was 3169, and in the country part of the Parish, 1202; in all, 4371. Of these, there were above twelve years of age, 2341 in the town, and 864 in the country; in all, 3205. There were in the town 2215 Presbyterians of the Established Church and in the county, 980; in all, 3195. And of Presbyterians above twelve there were in the town, 1572;

in the county, 712, in all, 2284." The document from which this extract is taken is in possession of Mr J. H. MacBean, to whom the writer would express his grateful thanks for obligingly lending him the volume.

Baptisms and Marriages.

Statistics of baptisms and marriages in Peterhead are given in the document mentioned above, and they show curious fluctuations. In 1700, when the population was probably about 700, the baptisms in town and county numbered 40; in 1710, 83; in 1720, 72; and in 1730, they fell to 36. In 1790, when the population was 2706, the total was only 15, and in 1800 it was 21. In 1754 the marriages were 13; in 1762 they were 11; in 1800, the number was 26. In the last-named year there were 275 inhabited houses in the country part of Peterhead, and 551 in the town; and in the whole parish there were only 10 uninhabited houses. The street names, etc. were: Quinzie; Brodgate; North Shore; Longate; Ronheads; Backgate; Cairdwell Road; St. Peter's Lane; Shorehead; Well Street; James Street; Merchant Street; Back of the Town House; School Brae; Maiden Lane; Kirktown. In the County — Invernettie; Invernettie Lodge; Boddom; Town of Boddom; Little Cocklaw; Collilaw; Auchtigall; Dens; Thaws; Mickle Cocklaw; Downiehills; Glendavenie; Smithy Hill; Tortorstown; Newseat; Barnyards; Rosefield; Scotsmill; Mount Pleasant; Hayfield; Balmoor; Clerkhill; Grange; Blackhouse; Buchan-Haven; Wind-Mill; Washing-House.

Music in the Back-Waters.

Peterhead was not always the musical centre it is to-day. Writing in 1795, Dr Moir said: "Mr Shand, organist to the Scotch Episcopal Chapel, teaches to play on the harpsichord, but does not meet with the encouragement which his talents and character deserve." The doctor mournfully adds: "Attempts have been made to improve church music both in the Established Church and in the Episcopal Chapels; but the improvement is very slow; and from whatever cause it may proceed, a taste for music is much less frequent on the sea-coast in Buchan than in the higher parts of the country." *Nous avons changé tout cela*! Bishop Torry is said to have attained to "considerable eminence" as an organ-builder, which is not such a queer trade for a bishop to follow when we remember that organs and dioceses are equally useless without "the laying on of hands" by a properly qualified person!

The Arm of the Sword.

The employment of soldiers to extrude the Episcopal clergy from the churches in December, 1716, is described at some length in the "Representation of the State of the the Church," drawn up by the clergy themselves, and published the following year. Orders were given to send a party of soldiers on December 29th 1716, to each of the four adjacent churches of Cruden, St. Fergus, Longside and Pitsligo. The soldiers broke open the doors, turned the sacred edifices into guard-rooms, kindled fires, and brought in

beds. On Sunday morning when the clergy arrived, they were refused admission. It is on record that the Presbyterian minister at Cruden was obliged to preach to his armed guard—not a man or woman in the parish attending. His text was Rom. I. 13,—"Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you, but was let hitherto," etc. Consciously or unconsciously, there was some humour in the learned divine. (See Archibald's "Ten Years' Conflict," p. 131).

A Declaration of Faith.

The following document, drawn up by Bishop Torry, was signed in November, 1837, by the Rev. Charles Cole on his appointment to the incumbency of St. Peter's Church:—

"I am decidedly of opinion that the order of the Christian Ministry in the Church, as constituted by its Divine Head, our Lord Jesus Christ, consists of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and that the government thereof is, and has been from the beginning, lodged in each Bishop as the visible Head in his own Diocese; that the power of ordaining the inferior Orders is wholly vested in him, and through Bishops alone can the Apostolic authority be transmitted in succession to the ends of the world; and I further hold that no layman can confer any authority to minister in holy things.

Moreover, I am free to declare that I am no Calvinist, and that I reject the doctrine of Reprobation as unscriptual. But I hold Election as understood by the Church—namely, that we are

chosen out of the sinful world, and translated by Baptism into the Kingdom of Christ, and thus brought into a state of salvation, wherein, by Divine Grace, we may continue (if it be not our own fault) unto our lives' end.

And as the commencement of our spiritual life is thus bestowed in Baptism, so it is further strengthened in the Apostolic Rite of Confirmation; every sacred institution having its own peculiar grace, and conferring its own peculiar benefits, as well as imposing new obligations on the recipients.

I moreover declare it to be my steadfast belief that the Divine Life, thus happily begun and in progress within us, is still further strengthened by the faithful and devout participation of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; concerning which it is said by our Redeemer Himself, "Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath Eternal Life." And thus the devout Christian goes on from strength to strength, adorning the Doctrine of God his Saviour, and walking in newness of life until he reach the heavenly Sion above.

(Sgd.) CHARLES COLE.

N.B.—I have perused with attention the Scotch Communion Office, and greatly admire it; I shall, therefore, be most willing to continue the use of it."

The Bishop told the Vestry that Mr Cole accepted every word of the Declaration, and said he would "sign it with both hands."

The Vestry and Other Workers.

The business affairs of St. Peter's Church are managed by a Vestry consisting (under the revised Constitution) of ten members—

the Rector, who is Chairman *ex officio;* Mr Robert Gray, of the Grange, Treasurer and Secretary; Mr James Booth, of Downiehills and Dens, Lay Elector; Mr David Troup, solicitor, Lay Representative; Mr William G. Chisholm, Rector's Warden; Mr James Knox, People's Warden; Mr W. Mathewson, Treasurer of Central Funds' Committee; Mr Alexander Birnie, of Wellbank; Mr T. C. Williamson; and Mr Robert Calder. The Maintenance Fund, in lieu of seat rents, is in the charge of Mr Alexander Grant, of the Town and County Bank; and Messrs E. M'B. Kidd and James Booth, jr., are Joint-Treasurers of the Torry Memorial Endowment Fund. The assistant curate of St. Peter's is the Rev. E. N. Beresford Cooke; and Miss Emily Treweek, of the Mission to Fisherfolk, has rendered signal service in connection with the new Mission of St. Margaret in the Longate of Peterhead. There is an excellent Day School belonging to the Church, with a roll of 290 children, under the capable superintendence of Miss Dora Leslie, headmistress, assisted by Miss Annie Minty, Miss A. E. Mitchell, Miss Isabella Ingram, Miss Margaret Cooper, and Miss Christian Shand. The managers of the School are Miss Mitchell, of Berryhill, Mr Alexander Grant, Mr J. L. Forbes, B.Sc., Mr James Taylor, and the Rector. The first congregational Sunday School was begun by Bishop Torry. It has now a membership roll of 200, with a large staff of teachers, under the general supervision of Mr W. G. Chisholm. The school has been thoroughly graded, and is conducted on modern lines,

with a kindergarten department in charge of Miss Charlotte Minty and two assistants. There is a Ladies' Work Party, which does splendid service to various schemes of the Church; a Lads' Athletic Club; a Men's Association (Mr T. C. Williamson, secretary); a young women's organisation known as the Guild of the Good Shepherd, which was founded by Miss Mitchell in 1873, and has continued under her wise guidance ever since. The choir of St. Peter's, under Mr H. E. Bennett, F.R.C.O., is one of the best in the diocese. At the Mission there are several useful and successful organisations —a flourishing Mothers' Meeting, a largely-attended Sunday School, Girls' Classes, Boys' Clubs, and Men's Societies of various kinds.

So we have told our story. If it has interested the general reader in some small way, and helped the writer's own people to understand more clearly and value more highly the heritage that has come down to them, it will not have been told in vain.

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